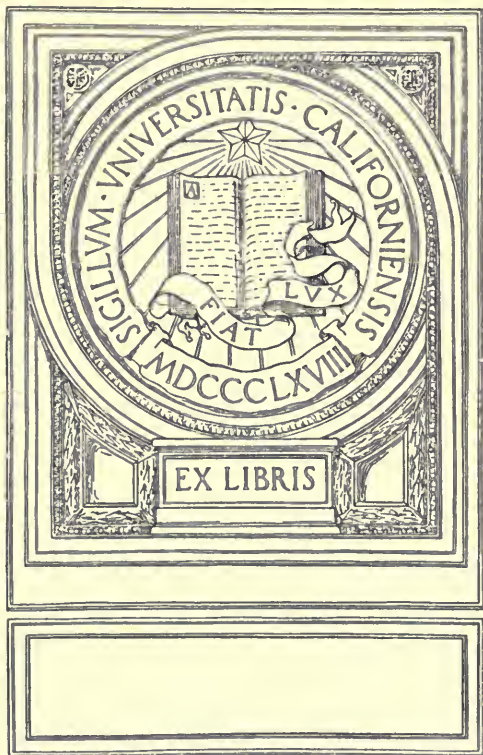




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THE  
HISTORIE AND LIFE  
OF  
KING JAMES THE SEXT.

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WRITTEN  
TOWARDS THE LATTER PART  
OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

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EDINBURGH:

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Printed by James Ballantyne,  
FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH;  
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J. MAWMAN, LONDON.

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1804.

THE

HISTORY AND THE

OF

KING JAMES THE SIXTH.

BY

JOHN BURNET, ESQ.

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

EDINBURGH:

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Printed by James Ballantyne.

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1888

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## PREFACE.

THE HISTORIE AND LIFE OF KING JAMES THE  
SEXT, is published from a copy of the original ma-  
nuscript, which David Crawford of Drumsoy, his-  
toriographer to Queen Anne, employed in com-  
piling his Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland.  
In a preface to the first edition (London, 1706),  
he informs us, after a long invective against Bu-  
chanan, that he would be *as plain and as brief  
as possible* concerning the memoirs themselves.  
“ I had all the substance of these sheets from  
“ an ancient MS. presented me by my very good  
“ friend, Sir James Baird, of Saughtonhall, who  
“ purchased it by mere accident, from the ne-  
“ cessitous widow of an episcopal clergyman.  
“ As for the author’s fortunes, or particular cha-  
“ racter, I am wholly in the dark ; however, it  
“ is plain, from his own words, he was living  
“ when King James VI. was married, where he  
“ says, speaking of Queen Mary’s flight into  
“ England, ‘ Albeit the Queen of Scotland was



“ entered the realm of England, be the Queen’s  
 “ own permission, and great promise of friend-  
 “ ship to follow thereupon, by the taking of the  
 “ diamond ring, carried by Sir Robert Melvill,  
 “ now made Treasurer-depute of Scotland,’ &c.  
 “ And we all know Sir Robert got that post a  
 “ very few months before the King’s marriage.  
 “ But because it might be objected that his (the  
 “ author’s) being alive at that time, though it is  
 “ *bona causa scientiæ*, yet it is not at all a proof  
 “ of his *honesty*, and his evidence may be of no  
 “ effect, unless I can purge him of malice, and  
 “ partial counsel, as the lawyers express it; I  
 “ have therefore, and because I know this to be  
 “ one of the knottiest pieces in the history of  
 “ Scotland, *compared him carefully* with Spot-  
 “ tiswood, Melvil, and Camden, who are gene-  
 “ rally allowed to have given the best accounts  
 “ of the revolutions of that time; and for the  
 “ reader’s satisfaction in matters of importance,  
 “ if not already insisted upon in this long pre-  
 “ face (I have), *instructed him in the margin*,  
 “ during Murray’s regency, to find out with ease  
 “ *how far he agrees* with most of these authors.  
 “ *I declare solemnly*, that I have not, that I  
 “ know of, *wrested any of his words*, to add to

“ one man’s credit, or to impair the honesty of  
 “ another; and having no manner of dependance  
 “ upon any party (for though the persons are  
 “ dead, the parties, for ought I know, may be  
 “ still alive), I have *neither heightened nor di-*  
 “ *minished any particular character or action,*  
 “ but have kept, as close as possible, to his *mean-*  
 “ *ing and sense.* If I had delivered things in  
 “ his own style, it would have proved tedious  
 “ and heavy to the nice reader; and by many  
 “ in our neighbouring nation, could hardly have  
 “ been understood without a dictionary. The  
 “ common, and commendable practice of our  
 “ neighbours, in making new translations of  
 “ books written in old English—shields me from  
 “ any just censure for putting this important piece  
 “ of history in a *more modern dress* than that in  
 “ which our author left it. I must acquaint my  
 “ reader, too, that he *had not sufficiently diges-*  
 “ *ted his matter into form and method,* having  
 “ marked down things, as it seems, just when  
 “ they happened, or when they came within the  
 “ reach of his knowledge.”

The first suspicion of Crawford’s fidelity was  
 excited by Keith’s History of Scotland (Edin-  
 burgh, 1734), in which several quotations, from

an early copy of Crawford's MS. were inserted, with an intimation, that "there were considerable variations between the manuscript and the printed memoirs."—KEITH, p. 330, note. In the second edition of the memoirs (Edinburgh, 1753), Goodall, in order to remove such suspicions, observes, in a preface under the bookseller's name, that "what is now become of that very manuscript, I have not been able to discover. Some have taken the liberty to affirm, that our author himself committed it to the flames; but how unwarrantable and injurious that alledgeance is, I have been informed by Mr Thomas Ruddiman, who, having requested Mr Crawford to lodge the MS. in the Advocates' Library, was answered, that it did not belong to him, but to Sir James Baird, of Saughtonhall, to whom he had returned it: which being signified by Mr Ruddiman to Mr Robert Bennet, the then Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, he applied to Sir James himself, for having the book brought into their library, but was told that it was not then in his possession; for he had lent it to William Hamilton of Wishay, out of whose hands it could never be recovered. However,

“ there is now in the same library at Edinburgh,  
 “ a written book of memoirs of these very times,  
 “ and another in the possession of Bishop Ro-  
 “ bert Keith, that are generally thought to be  
 “ copies of it, and as such are here sometimes  
 “ cited in the notes.”

In consequence of this intimation, the editor, about four years ago, applied to Lord Belhaven, and among the papers collected by his Lordship's ancestor, Mr Hamilton of Wishay, discovered the identical manuscript which Crawford had employed. The hand-writing and orthography of the MS. belong to the latter part of the sixteenth century; and the note of time, observed by Crawford, serves to ascertain the period when the history was written. Sir Robert Melvill acted merely as Vice-Chancellor during the Chancellor's absence, on the marriage of James VI. in Denmark (November 24. 1589): but Sir Robert had been appointed Treasurer-depute in August, 1582, and retained the office till March, 1597. The history, in which he is mentioned as “ now the Thesaurer of Scotland,” (p. 44.) concludes abruptly at the Raid of Ruthven (August 22. 1582); and as it contains no intimation whatsoever, of the execution of Queen



Mary (February 8. 1587), the greater part was probably written in the interval between these two events. Towards the conclusion, however, Lord John Hamilton's return to Scotland, in 1585, is mentioned by anticipation (p. 273.); while Douglas, of Lochleven, is styled, for the first time, "the Earle of Moirtoun, that now is" (p. 249.); and as he succeeded to that title on the death of Archibald Earl of Angus and Morton in 1588, the latter part was not written till then. From the account of the Queen's sickness at Jedburgh, and from other passages, the author appears to have been secretly a Roman Catholic, and of the Hamilton faction; and his reluctant testimony concerning her guilt, possesses the more authority, as he is evidently hostile to her opponents, and attached to her cause.

But the discovery affords a complete detection of the earliest, if not the most impudent literary forgery ever practised in Scotland. Every circumstance in the manuscript, unfavourable either to Mary or to Bothwell, or favourable to their adversaries, is carefully suppressed: every vague allegation in Camden, Spottiswood, Melvill, and others, or in the State Papers which Crawford had transcribed from the Cotton MSS.

is inserted in the memoirs; and these writers are quoted on the margin as collateral authorities, confirming the evidence of some unknown contemporary. Fictions, invented by Crawford himself, are profusely intermixed; and even the ill-digested form of the genuine narrative is a pretext for the transposition and alteration of facts. The historiographer for Scotland, having thus, on the narrow basis of the original manuscript, constructed spurious memoirs of his own, “declares solemnly, that he has not wrested any of the words, to add to one man’s credit, or to impair the honesty of another; that he has neither heightened nor diminished any particular character or action; but that he has kept as close as possible to the meaning and sense of his author;” and even his title-page professes that the work is “faithfully published from an authentic manuscript.” The memoirs have been quoted, as genuine, by Hume and Robertson: and their authority has been re-echoed by disputants as a full confirmation of the most absolute fictions. Nor is it possible to acquit Goodall of connivance at the fraud: he had collated the memoirs with two copies of the original manuscript, and was conscious of the impos-

ture, which, in the preface to the second edition, he endeavours partly to vindicate, and partly to conceal.

The copy, mentioned by Goodall, was discovered lately in the Advocates' Library; and the editor has been called upon personally, in a controversy concerning Mary Queen of Scots, to publish the original memoirs entire. A few copies, sufficient to indemnify the bookseller, are therefore printed without any comment, as a complete detection of the first of those literary forgeries, for which the Scots are still so peculiarly distinguished. The authorities fabricated by Hector Boethius, Chalmers of Ormond, and Dempster, are sufficiently known; but Crawford, perhaps, was the first Scotchman who published his own compositions as the genuine productions of a former age. The present example, however, ought to convince those, who persist in the practice of literary forgery, that the most successful fabrication can give them no assurance whatsoever of impunity, and that no length of time can secure them from detection.

EDINBURGH, *April* 12. 1804.



THE  
HISTORIE AND LIFE  
OF  
KING JAMES THE SEXT.

1566.

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**K**ING James the Sext was borne of his mother Marie, Queene of Scotland, and King James birth. Queene dowager of Fraunce, in the Castell of Edinburgh, the nyntien day of Junnij 1566, quhose lyff I purpose at lenthe to declare.

Howsoone the Queene was convalescit after this birth, schoe, according to the common forme of Scotland, addrest hirsself to the southe pairtes of the realme to hold

iustice courtis, and directit furthe James Earle of Bothwell to the province of Liddisdail to compell certane unbrydlit insolent theevies to shaw thair obedience unto hir: Bot they, according to thair unruly custome, dispysit him and his comissioun in sic sort, that they invadit him fearcelie, and hurt him in divers pairtes of his bodye and head, that hardlie he escapit with saiftie of his lyff, and that in particular be the handis of ane Johnne Elliot of the Park. The Queene being then at Jedburghe, and understanding the certane report of this accident, was so heichlie greevit in hairt, that shoe took na repose in bodye till shoe sawe him, and thairfore with all expeditioun adrest herself to a castell in Liddisdail, callit the Armetage, quhair the said Earle then lay for curing of his woundis, and quhen shoe had considerit of her estate to be in great danger of lyff, imediatlie that same night shoe returnit to Jedburgh: quhair, quhat for wearines of that suddaine and lang trawill, and great distres of hir mynd

Earle of  
Bothwell  
hurt.

for the hurt of the said Earle, shoe contractit a burning corruptit feaver, that occupyit hir in sick a heiche degree, that hir senses for the twa pairt of the first day were diminisht. Bot thairafter shoe convalescit a litle, and finding hir bodye oppressed with sicknes tending to the death (as shoe thought), shoe causit send advertisement to all the kirks next adiacent to pray for hir : And in the meanetyme was resolute to render hir spirite to God, and gave charge that hir bodye should be buriet among the rest of hir predecessors : Shoe desyrit God of his mercie to pardoun hir sinnes, to grant hir a penitent and contrait hairt for hir offences, and that he wald deale with hir in mercie in respect of hir weaknes, and remit a litle of his iudgement although shoe hade deseruit the same as a miserable offender : And thankit his Majestie quha gave hir sick a large tyme of repentance, praying effectuouslie to graunt hir constancie and perseuerance in that catholique, undoubtit, trew faith and re-

ligion : unto the end quhairof, shoe, in presence of nobles and gentlemen thair conveint, made confessioun, saying in Latin, *Credo*, &c. Secondlie, shoe recomendit unto them unitie of myndis, peace and quyetnes ; for be discord all thingis are dissoluit, and be concord they remaine haill and togidder. Shoe recomendit unto them the protectioun of her young sone the prince : that he should be brought up in the fear of God, in honest and honourabill societie and perfectioun of maners, and to preserve him from people of corruptit maners, that may ather seduce him from his dewtie toward God or the world ; to the end he might live as a godlie and righteous prince abone his peeple. Shoe forgaue all those that hade offendit hir, and chieflie these ungrate persones quhome shoe had promovit to hie honor, and in particular her awin husband King Henry, as alswa the banisht gentlemen quha hade heichly grievit her : Requyring, that in caus they should be brought in the realme eftir hir decis, that they should

at least be debarrit from acces to the young prince for hir requeist, and that they wald procure some ease in conscience to these that doe profes the catholique faithe: Becaus during hir regiment shoe constraint nane of her subiects to exercise in religion utherwayes than thair conscience indytit thame. Shoe did recomend unto them all hir frenche servandies; that they should be recompencit for thair seruice, and namelie ane Arnoldus Columbus. Shoe recomendit hir amitie to the King of Fraunce, be his ambassador than resident in Scotland, callit Monsieur de la Croc, and the protection of her sone to his Majestie, and to the Queene mother of Fraunce, and that he should interceed at his returne to craue hir forgiuenes in hir name of all offences that ather shoe hade actualie done, or might be supposit to have done, and that it should pleas the King to graunt the reveunew of a zier of her dowrie efter hir deceis to the payment of hir debites and servandis feas.

During this seeknes, king Harie hir hus-



band was in company of Mathew Earle of Lennox his father, in the west of Scotland. Bot quhen he understude of this suddaine uisitatioun, he addrest himselff with expeditioun, first to Edinburgh, and next to Jedburgh, notwithstanding quhair of he was not maid welcome as appertenit ; and he perceaving that, addrest his iorney to Strivling, quhair he remaint till the prince was baptizit. The caus quhairfore he was thus evill handlit, was, that Queene Marie being servit be ane David Rictio Italiane as Secretare, and this office of his being prejudicial to Secretare Maitland off Lithingtoun, he addrest himself (being a man of subtile braine) to a faction direct repugnant to the Queene in all respectis. And in the meane tyme the King he informit to conceive in mynd, that this Italiane Secretar had carnall copulatioun with the Queene, to the end he might induce some of the nobilitie to trouble the estate, as it followit thairefter : For King Harie being a young prince, na ways experimentit in

politique effaires, was easilie seducit, not weying ather the caus or the end aright quhat should fall out of that actioun : For they maid him beleeve that they should caus him be absolutlie crownit king of Scotland. He introducit Patrick Lord Ruthven, and his eldest sone, with sum uther conspirators, threw his awin chalmer upoun the nynt day of Marche 1565, and thair, without ather reuerence or respect hade to hir Maiestie, not only iniurit hir with words as shoe than sat at supper : Bot also laid violent hands upoun hir Italiane Secretar, and harlit him unmerciefullie to another chalmer, and yair murderest him cruelly to the death. This fact maid sick impressioun in the Queene's hairt, becaus the King assistit thairunto (shoe being yn great with child), that the fruits thairof maid ane evill end. The Abbot of Kelso, Mr William Ker, was slaine be his awin goodson, Ker off Cesfurde.

In the moneth of December the prince was baptized in the castell of Striviling be



Johnne Archbishopp of Sainctandrois, in a fonte of gold weyand thrie hundreth threttie thrie unces, send be Elizabeth Queene of England, on the catholique maner. Thair assistit to this baptisine for the King of Fraunce, the Counte of Briane. And for the Queene of England, the Earle of Bedfurde. And for the Duke of Savoy, Monseour La Croce. His name was callit Charles James, and James Charles, be thryse repetitioun of the voice of heraldis and sound of trumpettis. And notwithstanding of this great triumph, with all the banquetting, sport and pastyme that was thair amang sa noble personages: Nather did King Henrie cum thair, albeit he was in Striviling all that quhyll, nather was he permittit or requyrit to cum oppinly: And thairfore he addrest himselff to Glasgowe, quhair he became extreme seik, and his haill bodye brak out in euill fauourit pustullis, be the force of young age that potentlye expellit the poyson quhilk was given him to haist the end of his dayes. Sa that

the Queene, whither it was for pittie or hypocrisie (I will not dispute), tuik iorney toward him to Glasgow, and remaint by him by the space of ten dayes, and causit him to be transportit to Edinburgh, quhair he was placit in a desert ludging near the wall and faulxburg of the town, callit the kirk of feild, prepairit for a wicked intent, as the malicious actors performit with thair pestilent handis, perceiving that the poy-soun quhilk they hade givin him did tak na effect, devysit this uther purpose. To lay trains of gwn powder, about and within the wallis of the hous in great quantity. Bot first they come in be slight of false keyis quietlie to the King's chalmer, quhair he was reposing in bed, and his servand sleeping nar by. First they stranglit the King, and nixt his servand. They kaist thair dead bodies out in a desert zaird by a bak dore, quhilk they had prepared before, fitt for the purpose, and then kendlit thair traine of gwn powder quhilk inflamit the timber of the haill hous in sic sort, and

troublit sa the wallis thair of, that gret stanes, of the lenth of ten fute, and of breid five fute, were fund distant from that hous be the space of a quarter of a myll. This was devysit to deceaue the people, to make them belieue that the hous and bodies was expellit and demolishit be the chance of suddaine fire, and na utherwayes: Bot Bothwell and his men were sein neare hand by, to the end the wicket purpose should not faill to tak effect, as by progres of this historie shall the better be knowin.

This tragicall murther was committit the 9 of Februar; and upoun the fyft day thair- after his body was buriat in the tombe of the Kings at Halieruidhous quyetlie in the night, without any kind of solemnitie or murning hard among all the persones at court. For, within twa dayes thereafter, the Queene past in progress to Seatoun, quhair shoe remaint a few dayes till the parliament approachit, quhilk was proclaimit afoire. He was a comely prince, of ane faire and large stature of bodye, plea-

sant in countenance, loving and affabile to all men, devote efter the Catholique maner, weill exerciesit in martiall pastymes upoun horsbak as any prince of that age ; bot was so facile, that he could conceale na secrete although it might tend to his awin iveill.

In the moneth of Marche of the nixt zeere, 1567, James, Earle of Bothwell, finding himself havilye sclannderit for the murther of King Harie, and diuers preacheris speaking oppinly in that mater, to the prejudice of his honor and honesty in that mater and action, thought expedient, be advyce of the Queene (as the end declairit), to put himselff to the cognition of a Jure oppenlie, as thought na persoun durst compeir to avow it ; and it was proclamit to the 28 day of that moneth. Bot quhen he was compeirit, my Lord Justice prorogat the day to the 12 of Aprile ensewing. Bot before that day, James, Earle of Murray, demandit licence from the Queene to reteere furth of Scotland for fyve zeeres, quhilk was grauntit ;



and he depairted immediatlie toward England: So as the 12 day drew neire, the Earle of Lennox addrest himselff to the town of Edinburgh, to accuse the Earle of Bothwell for the murther of his sone; and the Queene perceaving that, sent advertisement to him to enter the town in a privat maner, accompanyit with his household servandis only; quhilk he refuisit to doe: Sa that the partiall Jure proceedit, to Bothwell's great contentment, bot in na securitie from sclannder, and acquyttit him of all suspitioun of actioun of murther of the king: Becaus nayther was it provin be witnesses, nayther notifiet be probabill accusatioun. And thairfore, to the end that na thing in this maner sal be obscurit, bot all pairties may be knawin in their awin cullors, it is requisite that the names of this honorabill Jure be plainely notified. The names are these as followes:

EARLE OF CASSILES,  
EARLE OF CATHNES,  
EARLE OF ROTHUS,

LORD BOYD,  
LORD FORBES, YOUNGER,  
BARROWN OF LOCHINVARR,

LORD OF ABIRBROTHOCK,	BARNBOWGALL,
LORD OLYPHANT,	BOYNE,
LORD HERREISS,	LANGTOWN,
LORD ROSSE,	CAMBUSNETHAN,
LORD SEMPILL,	

In Aprile the parliament held, and Bothwell was promovit to beare the scepter to the Parliament-house; and the Earle of Lennox perceaving all things to goe astray in Scotland, thocht it unsure to him to remaine any longer to behold sick unpunisht barbaritie. He thairfore re-teerit himselff to England, be the wast sey, quhair he remainit till he was callit bak be the nobilitie of Scotland, to mak his tragicall end, as in the awin place ze shall heir.

Then Bothwell, thinking thair was na contrauersie againes him in Scotland, conveint the number of aucht hundreche horsemen, and as the Queene was cumand from the castell of Striviling, to haue returnit to Edinburgh, he met hir in the hie way, and convoyit hir perforce (as appeirit)

to the castell of Dumbarr, to the end he might enioy hir as his lafull spous ; and in the meane tyme causit devorcement to be led, and separation proceed betuix him and his awin mariet lawful wyfe, the Ladie Jeane Gordown, than sister to George, Earle of Huntlye. The freindlie liufe was so heighlie contractit betuix this great princes toward hir enorme subiect, that thair was no end thair of ; for it was constantly esteemit be all man, that ather of them loued uther carnally. Sa that shoe sufferit hirsellf patiently to be led quhair the lover list, and all the way nather maid obstacle, impediment, clamor, or resistance, as in sic accidentis uses to be, or that shoe might haue done be hir princely auctoritie, being accupanyit with the noble Earle of Huntlie, and Secretar Maitland of Lethington. They had scarcely remanit be the space of ten dayes in the castell of Dumbarr, and na great distance being betuix the Queenes chalmer and Bothwellis, quhen they thocht expedient to cum to



Edinburgh Castell, and, be the way, to shaw hirsellf to the people that Bothwell was ready to put hir to libertie againe, according to the dewtie of ane obedient subiect. Bot at the streit entrie of the toun that leadis to the Castell, he maid semblance to lead her brydle ; and sensibill people interpret the same as though he convoyit hir Maiestie as his captive to a castell, quhairin a substitute of his was, callit Sr James Balfour. Imediatelie thairafter, they were proclamit in several kirkis to be mariet, and a certane day prefixt to that purpose. And to the effect shoe should not seeme to receave to hir husband a man that was not in the rowme of a prince, he was creat Duce of Orknay and Zetland with great magnificence, and upoun the 15 of Maij were mariet togidder. The same day was a pamphlet affixt upoun the palice port.

*Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.*

Certane of the nobilitie mislyking of this marriage, and being out of counte-

nance afoir, delt secretlie with uthers of the best sort to mak a factioun, pretending thairby to set the Queene to libertie, and to put Bothwell to a tryell for the suspectit murther, althoght thair intentioun was rather to seek thair awin libertie be uproar and rebellioun, and to be exalted, as in the awin place ze shall heir. For the chieff of this factioun was James Earle of Mortoun, the Earle of Marr, my Lord Home, Secretar Lethingtoun, the Lord Sempill, the Lord Lindesay, the Barrounes of Tullybairden and Grange. And as the Queene was in peaceable maner reposing with hir new mariet husband in the Castell of Borthuick, nar to Edinburgh, they thought to haue laid violent hands on thame baith, bot were decivit: For the Queene was premonisht, and escapit suddainlie to the castell of Dumbarr, and thairby gat leasyr to convocat thair forces on baith sydes. Sa the Lordis being frustrat of that interpryse, addrest thame toward Edinburgh, intending to fortifie thameselues thair: Bot it was

suppousit, that nather the capitane of the castell of Edinburgh should haue sufferit thame to approach to the toun, nather should the proueist of the toun permittit thame to enter: Bot quhen the heartis of people are alienate from the lawfull prince, rebellious persones hes liberty to doe quhat they list, without contradicioun, as became in this purpose. For the great pairt of the inhabitantis of the toun were subornit be thair preacher to mak na resistance; and the capitane of the castell was so delt withall, that the mater come to talking, quhairby he was suddainlie corruptit with money, and randerit the castell in thair hands to the prejudice of the prince and his interest quha placit him thair. Sa that howsoone toun and castell were in thair possèssioun, they divulgat thair pretence to the people, that they were convenit for na uther intent thair, bot to searche these that hade murderit the late King Henrie. And becaus they understude that some of thame were quietlie keepit in Edinburgh, they wald see

thame punisht: Quhairby the myndis of the maist pairt of the people were inclynit thairway. And within twa dayes efter, the Erle of Athoill, be procurement of Secretarie Lethingtoun, comê to this factioun; bot efter were sa farr disioynit in myndis and bodies, as we shall heir the ishew of rebellioun, to our better instructioun be the progres of the historie.

So the Queene, understanding crediblie of sick convocation tending to rebellioun, shoe, on the vther pairt, assemblit so many as shoe could obtaine in sa short tyme, and desperatie come from Dumbarr to Seatoun. And thair, efter shoe hade stayit bot a night, was resolute, be ye vnwyse advyce of these that were with hir at that tyme, to come forwart with that small cumpanye to invaid hir aduersars, befoir hir haill army were assemblit, and come to ane place callit Carbarrie hill. The Lordis sortit from Edinburgh be places of advantage, and to haue the sone on thair bakkis; for the day was exceeding hott; the 14 of Junii, and a



Sunday. The Queene causit hir proclamatiouns to be maid to animat the people on hir syde; that giff any man should slay an Erle of the aduersars, should haue for his reward fôurtie pund land; for slaughter of a Lord a twentie pund land; and for slaughter of a Barroun a ten pund land. Bot the mater was componit without straikis. For the partie of the Lordies was mikle stronger than the Queene's, and mony people of Edinburgh were come furth to assist thame. Besydes all this, they were supportit with stoir of drink, quhilk was a great releeff againes drouth in sick exceeding heatt of the zeir: sa that quhen the Queenes pairty sawe sick a multitude, and sa courageously approach againes thame to feght, the Duke of Orknay was counsellit be the Queene, to reteere bak to the castell of Dumbarr with expeditioun, thair to save himselff, as he did. Monseour La Croce, ambassador for the King of Fraunce, maid great instance and trauell betuix the pairtes for agreement, bot it could not be obtenit.

And the Queene, perceaving that, shoe desyrit to speak with the Laird of Grange, and in ye meane tyme these of hir syde decressit still. Grange coming vnto her Maiestie, they vsit sum small speaches; for shoe being credulous to be frie, and safe from danger, randerit hirselff willinglie to the Lordies, quha vnreverently broght hir in to Edinburgh, about seven houres at evin, and kept hir straitly within the prowest's ludging on the hie street. And on the morne fixt a quhytt baner in hir siyght, quhairin was paintit the effigie of King Harie hir husband, lyand dead at the roote of a green tree, and the effigie of the young prince with this inscriptioun,

*Judge and revenge my caus, o Lord!*

This siyght greevit hir greatly; and thairfoir shoe burst furth exceeding (many) teares, and exclamatiouns againes these Lordies quha held hir in captivity, crying to the people for God's caus to releue hir fra the hands of these tyraunties. The people of the

toun convenit vnto in great number: And perceaving hir sa afflictit in mynd, hade pittie and compassioun of hir estate. The Lordis perceaving that, come vnto hir with dissimulat countenance, with reuerent and faire speaches, and said, that yair intentions were nawayes to thraw hir; and thairfoir immediatlye wald repone hir with freedome to hir awin palace of Halyrudhous, to doe as shoe list: Quhairby shoe was sa pacifiet, that the people willinglie depairtit. And on the nixt evening to cul-lor yair pretences, convoyit hir to the palace, and then assemblit thameselues in counsall to advyse quhat was best to be done: And it was decernit that immediatlye shoe sould be transportit to the fortalice of Lochlevin, and thair decernit to remaine in captivity during hir lyfe, and to transfer hir auctoritie to the young prince, to the end that they might reule as they list, without any controlement of lawfull auctoritié; quhilk continewit mony zeeres. Thair was on the Quéenes pairt, the Lordis



Seatoun, Zester, Borthuick, with thair forces, the Barrouniss of Wachtoun, Basse, Ormestoun, Wedderburne, Blacader, and Langtoun. On the pairt of the Lordis, were the Earles of Moirtoun, Marr, and Glencairne; the Lordis Lindesay, Ruthven, Home, Sempill, Sanquhair; the Barrounies of Tullybairden, Drumlangrèg, Grange, and all yair forces of horsemen and futemen.

In that moneth come an ambassador from Fraunce, callit Monseour d'Villeroy, to know the estate of the Queene and country, with letters patents to hir Maiestie, in caies shoe were at liberty, vtherwayes not to divulgat thame, bot to dispose upoun thame as he list. And becaus he fand sic a troublit estate, without the maiestie of a prince, he depairted the countrey patiently throw England. The Lordis thus triumphand, hauing the Queene in sure captiuity, inclosit with water at all pairtes of hir preasoun, distant a half myll at least from ony land, and keepit be the hand of a Dowglas, barroun of Lochlevin,

quha was thoght maist convenient for this purpose, baith becaus Dowglas, than Earle of Moirtoun, was prince of this factioun, and the yther Dowglas hade ye maist sure hald, and was brother to James Earle of Murray, quha eftir was regent of Scotland, and yairby pretendit to be king. Shoe was thair comittit for all respectis ; bot the gentilman was so weill advysit with his freindis, that he wald not receaue hir within his hous of strenthe, without a speciall warrandice of these rebellious Lordis : That in cais it should be unputt to him another day, ather be hir Maiestie than present, or be ony of hir successors, that they should, be band of obligatioun, stand betuix the prince, him, and his aires, for warrandice of all perrell and danger that might ensew thairupoun ; .Quhilk they then promiseist, and band thameselues to performe : And not only this, bot promiseist to convocat a parliament of thair factioun of all estates, and the samen should be ratifiet yair with all ye voittes, quhilk was alswa done.

The same verie nyght of hir transporting, were taken twa men, suspect of the King's murther. The ane was callit Sebastian de Villour, a Frenchman: the vther was Capitaine Williame Blaccader. This capitaine shortlie efter was putt to ye knowledge of a Jure, and was convict: bot at his death wald naways confes himselff guilty of the King's murther; the uther escaipitt.

Notwithstanding of this, the Lordis finding thair factioun not sa strang as yair neid requyrit; having potent aduersars againes thame; off quhilk number the Earle of Argyll was ane, they thocht expedient to send the Earle of Glencairne ather to perswade him directly to be of thair factioun, or ellis that he wald so absteine that he should not serue to be thair enemy: quhairby he grew sa corruptit, that although he shew himselff in outward behavior as a gude subiect to the Queene, zit in effect shew himselff hir enemy, as be consequent shall be sufficiently provin. And heirwithall went sa quickly to wark, that they divul-

gat thair proclamatiouns in sic sort to the people, Declaring the Earle of Bothwell to be actuallie culpabill of the murther of the laitt King Henrye, and thairfoir willit all men to be sa diligent to searche him to be broght to iustice ; that he should haue for his reward a ressonabill pecuniall sowme, availing a thowsand pundis money of Scotland. As alswa they spairitt not to putt violent hands upoun hir maiesties copeburd, meltit the especes thair of, and convertit all in coyne, thairby to forge a staff to break hir awin head, of the weyght of sexteine stane.

To approue all thir doings was an embassador sent from England, callit sir Nicolas Throgmorton. Imediatlie thairefter, becaus they wald not seeme to tak the government of the country be thameselves, they thocht gude to establishe a prince of bloode royall, vnder the shaddow of whose wings in minority they should convoy all things to thair awin purpois. And thairefter they sumond all the nobles of the



land to compeir at Striviling, to assist and approue the coronatioun of the young prince to be ane King for thair intent. And to the effect it should seeme to haue the better succes, and that the subiects of all degrees should mak na obstacle in the contrarie, they directit thair message to thair captive princes, desyring hir to allow of that thair purpose: Quhilk shoe (being in that case) nather could nor durst refuse, for the messenger was commandit (in cais shoe hade refusit) to denunce punishment and death vnto hir for the murther of hir lawfull husband King Henrye. Shoe thairfore considering with hirsellf that hir refusal could profite nathing, deliberate to zield to thair purpose, and subscribit hir assent thairvnto: Not of ony frie will, bot, as I haue saine. And so to put that purpose to ane finall end, they convenit at Striviling, and in ye very paroche kirk thair of, the prince was anoynted King, be Adame bishop of Orknay: And crownit King be Lord Johne Earle of Athoill, be the ex-

pres words of the Queenes comissioun. At the quhilk assembly, passing from the parochie kirk to the castell again, the Earle of Athoill buire ye crowne of honour, the Earle of Moirtoun the scepter, the Earle of Glencairne the sword of honour : The Earle of Marr cariet the new inaugurat King to his awin chalmer in the castell. This was done upoun the 29 of July, 1567.

In the nixt moneth, Lord James Earle of Murray, a man of this factioun, returnit from Fraunce in Scotland, quhairby it was the mair easie for him to haue acces to ye Queene. Shoe was perswadit be these that were hir keeperis, and vthers intromettit for that purpois, to desire him to tak the gouernement of the countrey upoun him ; to the quhilk he was sa easilye perswadit, that without great delay of tyme, be coactit consent of the captive Queene, the gude mynd of the factionaries, and his awin bent will thairunto, was publickly proclamit in Edinburgh, upon the 22d of that moneth, only and lawful regent to James, be the

grace of God, King of Scottis, his maiestie, realme and leagis. Thairefter he talkit with the capitaine of the castell of Edinburgh, callit sir James Balfur, (he was alswa ane of these that were suspectit of the King's murther) to the effect he might haue the hous in his hands. The conditions that the capitaine cravit, were auctorizit unto him. First, a remissioun for airt and pairt for the King's murther; secondlie, the gift and donatioun of the priorie of Pittinweeme; thirdlie, a pensioun of victuall to his eldest sone, out of the priorie of St Andrews, to remaine with him heretably; and last of all, a great pecunial sowme to himself in hand: The regent tuik possessioun of the hous, and ludgit himself therein the first night.

The Queene understanding of this partiall dealing, tending greatlie to hir prejudice, shoe subornit a factioun of hir awin, of the hous and freindshipp of Hamiltouns, and uthris in quhome shoe confidit, that the regentrie of the realme, giue any should



be esteemit lawfull, uncoactit or compellit, bot be hir awin frie motive will, it should rather be given to James Duke of Chatellaralt Earle of Arran and Lord Hamiltoun, then to any uther.. And for this caus maid and subscrivit a frie commissioun of hir awin inventioun, to Archibald Earle of Argyll, Williame Lord Boyd, Williame Lord Levingstoun, and Gawen comendator of Kilwyning, to talk with the new electit regent of this purpois, and for hir libertye from captivity, bot all thair talking come to this effect: That becaus Duke Hamiltoun was then furth of the countrey, it was not thocht expedient that the estate than confirmit, as said is, should be cassin louse, bot should remaine in that same forme that then it was of, unto the tyme of the retorne of the said Duke in the countrey; quhairupoun the Queene's commissioners thocht expedient to direct the comendator of Kilwyning toward Fraunce, for the speedy retorne of the Duke.

In the meane tyme the regent Murray di-

rectit certane gentlemen to ye seas, to prosecute Bothwell quhair he might be fund, and speciallie in Orknay, where he understude him to mak his residence. Certane of his men were taking, and put to the deathe for his odious cryme, bot he escaping thair invasioun, addrest himselff to ye coast of Norroway. And he being then accompanyit with certayne fyne schipps, (as Admirall of Scotland) and the same conductit be gude captaines, they chancit to espye a fair shippe of Turkie, then lying at anker upoun that coist, within the dominionis of the King of Denmark, quhilk shipp he seasit upoun, and maid a pray thair of. Bot ye capitane of ye toun seing that shipp taking away, quhilk anes hade maid obedience within the seas of his prince, directit out twa great shipps to releve hir fra the hands of hir enemies. And the invasioun being great for the pairt of Norroway, the Earle Bothwell was compellit to giue ouer, and so was led prisoner, his captaines and marineris haulye tormentit, and himselff

comitted to sic prisoun quhair fra he was neuer fred fra the death.

The regent with his counsall understanding of this accident, directit certane commissioner to the King of Denmark, desyring him to rander him bak in Scotland, to be punisht for the murther of the laitt King Henrie, quhairof he was culpable, bot it was refusit be the King, becaus he wald not acknowledge thair auctoritie.

The castell of Edinburgh being in the regent's possessioun, (as I have said) he thocht alsaw expedient to haue the castell of Dumbar. And thairfoir summond the Laird of Quhytlaw, capitane thairof, to render the samen, under the paine of treason. Quhilk at the first was sa constantly refusit, that the regent was constrainit to belay the hous about with men of ware, and to bring some canonis from the castell of Edinburgh, for batterie of the hous. The capitane perceaving this, and knowing of na uther gude refuge and succor competent, randerit the hous to the re-

gent of certane easie conditiones. All the canonis and guns thairin contenit were cariet to the castell of Edinburghe, and the King's hous of strenthe, quhilk was a necessar ornament to the countrie, was decernit to be dimolisht doun to ye ground, quhilk within few moneths thaireftir was really accomplishitt.

During the accomplishment of this purpos, all the nobillmen and gentillmen of East Louthian that were suspectit to be fauorers to the Queene, or freinds to the Duke of Orknay, were chairgit under the hiest paine to subscribe obedience to the new electit regent, and to giue thair aide for prosecuting of the laitt Kingis murther. Certane, for ease of thair bodies, to the effect they should not be spulzied of thair rentis, consentit heirunto, albeit againes thair heartis. Uthris dissobeyeris were denunciit rebellis, and guides confiscat. And to the effect that the castell of Edinburgh, quhilk was anes realy in the regentis possessioun, should serue him for a sure retreat



quhen he list: He bestowit the keeping thair of to Sir Williame Kirkaldye of Grange, knyght, quha keepit it als sure for him and his factioun as his predecessor, the capitane thair of, did for him that placit him thair (as is alreddy declarit); and as for the fact of this capitane it shal be shawin successiue in the awin place, as occasion fell out on his pairt.

Efter this a parliament was proclamit to be halden at Edinburgh, the 19 of December. The nobles convenit that day, denunciit the Duke of Orkney a traitor, and so to be reput by all the Kingis leages for the murther of the laitt King Henrie.

Nixt proclamations were maid, desyring the Kingis subiects to accompany the regent for suppressing of the disorderit theaves of the south border. And in the mean tyme held iustice courtis in Glasgow, for punishment of vyces. And this is the particulare sume of all things done in that zeir.

For the entres of the next zeir, 1568,



thair was exceeding dearth of cornes in respect of scant in the countrey, that so mikle was transportit to other kingdomes : for remeid quhairoff, inhibitions were maid so farr out of season, that na victuall should be transportit out of the contrie under the paine of confiscatioun : even quhen thair was na mair ather to satisfie the people, or to plenishe the comon mercattis of the countrie as appertenit.

The King of Fraunce having a perpetuall care of the Queene of Scottis his sister in law, and sister in office, directit ane ambassador of his, callit Monseour Beaumont, in Scotland to the regent, requyring him to satisfie that his promiseis maid to the King of Fraunce at his depairtor, quhilk was to releue the Queene from prisoun, and to set hir at liberty : And he now being constitute gouernor of the realme, and accepting the same upon him, might sufficiently performe his promiseis be himselff, without ony tumult or danger that might ensew. Bot he craftily excusit the mater,

saying, that he could then nather giue competent answyr thairunto, nather zit could performe the same without consent of the thrie estattis of the realme to be convenit in parliament. And becaus thair had bene ane parliament sa laitly concludit befor his arryvell in Scotland, he could not quetlie mak ane new assembly sa suddainly wythout thair grudge. And thus shiftinglie postponit the ambassador to his great greeff. Bot the Queene in the meane tyme was vigilant and diligent for hir awin releeff, be hir subtile inventions: sa that befor mony days were spent, the ambassador was resolut of that doubt, for his entrie in Scotland was upoun the 22 of Apryll, and the 27 of same moneth he gat audience of the regent. And upoun the fyft day thairefter, quhilk was the 2 day of May, upoun ane Sunday at evin, the Queene escapit furth of prisoun. Bot as for the maist pairt princes are suddaine and wilfull in thair opinion of doing: And will not foirsee to prosecute thair gude chances aright: Even sa became

of this princes: For albeit shoe had that gude and rare lucke, besyds the expectatioun of the greattest number of hir weill willers in Scotland, that hir subtill devyce was sa lang and weill conceivit, even to the finall end: yet the succes of this was as euill as the first. Shoe had indeed subbornit a gentillman quha appeirandly should haue bein a mair constant freind to the capitane of the hous than to hir, and that was George Dowglas, brother german to this barroun of Lochlevin, quha had the cheef chaarge and governance of the hous under his brother. Bot as the exceeding hunger of gold hade befor tymes intoxicat the heartis of divers valiant men: Sa this George was very laith to want the benefeet thairof: A fatal vertew appeirandly in that hous, for although the eldest brother obtenit na benefeet of this liberty brocht to pas by his knowledge: Yet within short tyme thairefter, he recompencitt that losse with the serving of the noble Earle of Northumberland to the shamles. And the Earle of

Moirtoun and he devydit the cast amang them, sa that was hard to tell quhilk of the thrie had ather the greatest honor or profite in sic doings; for as to the profite, I think nane of thame had iust occasioun to plaint: Bot as concerning the honor, I refer it to the sensement of the indifferent reedar.

The rest of the pairt of the Queenes liberty was performit be a gentillman callit Johnne Beatoun, quha past oft tymes betwix Lochlevin, Hamiltoun, and Seatoun, with intelligence, sa as all things were perfectly and privily agreit upoun within the hous. Thair was a certaine day prefixt to George Lord Seatoun, James Hamiltoun of Rochbank, ather of thir having severall companyes to attend upoun hir out cuming. And if shoe should happen to be within the bait, shoe should giue a signe unto thame, for thair assurance, quhilk was perfytlie performit. Quhen shoe was come to the land, they horsett hir imediatlie with gladnes on all syde, as ye may suppose, bot how



lang it indurit ye shall heir. The Queene was first convoyit to Nidrye, my Lord Seatounes hous that night, and within thrie houres thairefter, was transportit to Hamiltoun, quhair Duke Hamiltoun, my Lord Heres, my Lord Levingstoun, and my Lord Flemyng, with all thair forces were convenit, to the number of thrie thousand horsemen. This convocation thocht first expedient to send a message to the regent, wha was then making his residence at Glasgow for the caus afoirtold, desyring him to auctorize the Queenes majestie, and repone hir in hir awin place againe, as appertenit to gude reasoun. Bot he efter consulting hade with sic nobles as were then presente, quhilk were bot few in number, he refusit simpliciter. Sa as the Queene was compellit to prosecute hir iust right per force, and the regent to defend his election be the lyke. Proclamationes were maid on bayth sydes, for the regent in Glasgow : for the Queene at Hamiltoun, Lanark, and some uther capital burrowes. And becaus



the ambassador of Fraunce was directit to the regent : and this suddaine chance was fallen out in the meane tyme, he desyrit the regentis licience to pas and speak the Queene: Saying he would intreat for peace. And in the meane tyme Johnne Beattoun receavit his directions to pas first in England and then to Fraunce, to give notice of hir libertie, and he was dispatchit with diligence. The ambassador procuring for peace, avallit nothing. And befoir this Johnne Beattoun could arryve in Fraunce with his message, all this joyfull libertye was suddainlye convertit to a tragicall captivitye, as in the awin place shall be declarit.

It was deliberat in the Queene's counsall, that hir majestie should first peaceablie be reponit in the castell of Dumbarton, thair to remain till all the nobilis and gentillmen of the land should conveyn in Dumbarton at a parliament, and to devyse for all generall causes of the commonweill : and in particular for the Queene, and the

young King. They sortit from Hamiltoun upoun the 13 day of May, to pas toward Dumbartane. The regent understanding of this, he causit his company to sort in ar-ryit battle to stopp the Queenes passage: And come furth to a village callit the Langsyd, quhair they stude be the advantage of the ground. The gentillmen of the surname of Hamiltoun were on the Queenes avantgaird, and my Lord Heres with certane horsemen on their wing. On the regent's avantgaird were James Earle of Mortoun, and Alexander Lord Home. The Queenes foir company were sa evil conductit, that thai were led amang certane ditches, and were sorely stressit be shott of hagbute from the regents syd: And in respect of this incomodity, being sa evil secundit be my Lord Heres, and having<sup>s</sup> sustentit greate losse, were constrainit to give bake, these gentillmen were the worst trait of all the Queenes syde. The areeregaird perceavingg them to be defaitt, did the lyke, the Earle of Argyll being Leauetenent of

the Queenes campe, shew nather courage nor vassalage at this conflict. The Queene fled with speid out of the feild, and past toward Drumfries, on the west borderis of Scotland, foiranent England. The slaughter was not great of bayth syds, for it exceedit not the number of twa hundrethe. The regents folkis followit on the chase a great way, divers of the Queens pairt were taken prisoneris. And the maist remarkable were George Lord Seatoun, the Sheriffe of Aire, Sir James Hamiltoun of Crawford, Johnne Knight, Alexander Hamiltoun of Innerwick, Sir Williame Scott of Balweere knight, James Hariot of Tra-broun, James and Johnne Hamiltounes of Garen, James Hamiltoun of Kinkavill, David Hamiltoun of Bothwellhauche, Alexander Baillie of Littillgill, and the Laird of Lanchupe, with sundrie atheris substantious gentillmen. Thair was hurt on the regentis syde my Lord Uchiltrie, with divers uther. The nobillmen that come to the field with the Queene were

these, Archbald Earle of Argyle Lieutenet, Hew Earle of Eglintoune, Archibald Earle of Cassilis, Andro Earle of Rothus, my Lord Glamis, George Lord Seatoun, Johnne Lord Heres, Hew Lord Somerveill, John Lord Flemyng, Thomas Lord Boyd, my Lord Ross, the Sheriffe of Aire, and Sir James Hamiltoune of Crawfuird, Johnne Knyghte, to the number of six thousand men or thairby. The nobles and gentillmen on the regents pairt were James Earle of Mortoune, Alexander Earle of Glen-carne, Alexander Lord Home, Johnne Lord Lindesay, Robert Lord Sempill, William Lord Ruthven, Johnne Lord Grahame, Secretarie Lethingtoun, to the number of thrie thousand or sum maire.

The regent having obtenit the victorie, returnit to Edinburgh, quhair he selectit certane of the prisonirs foirsaidis, and pat thame to the cognitioun of a Jure in the tolbuthe of Edinburgh to witt, Alexander Hamiltoune of Innerwick, James Hamiltoune, younger of Kinkavill, David Hamil-



toune of Bothwellhauche, and uther four in number. The first day na bodye compeerit : on the next day thai were brocht to the barre againe, within the iustice saitt in Edinburgh, and thair convict be ane asyse, and their handis bund to haue sufferit deathe. Bot it pleasit the regent to tak a new advysement, and commandit thair binding to be relaxt, and the prisoneris were committit to warde againe within the castell of Edinburgh. And so to prosecute his victorie, he commandit all the Kings leages to meete him in the toun of Bigger with diligence, in warlyk maner to persewe the Queene. And shoe during hir remaining at Dumfreis, sent a messinger to the Queene of England, desyring hir pasport to pas throw that countrey in Fraunce, quhilk immediatlie was grantit : And the Queene of England thairwithall sent to the Queene of Scotland a fair dya-mond, in token of freindshipp, as the use of that countrie is : Bot it was convertit to falsett or all was done. For although shoe



maid hir belieue, befoir shoe come from Scotland, even in the midds of hir distress, that shoe wald supplie hir, yet it was never done be the least euill countenance that could be perceavit against hir enemies: for in the beginning of hir troubles, shoe resett and harbarit within hir bowells, the maist capitall enemies that euer shoe hade; the ane was Williame Lord Ruthven, quha diet in the toun of Newcastle in England; the uther was James Earle of Mortoun, quha efter became regent of Scotland, and maid a violent end for a filthie caus. Besyds all this, although the Queene of Scotland was entered in England be the Queenes awin permissioun and great promeis of freindshipp to follow thair-upoun, be the taking of the ring caryeit be Sir Robert Meluill, now the thesaurer of Scotland, and was comitted first to the toun of Carleill, and nixt to the custodie of my Lord Scrupe, quhair she was sa circum-spectlie attendit upoun, that for a long tyme shoe was debarrit fra al acces to

utheris, and all utheris debarrit from acces unto hir. And quhen shoe desyrit to haue free passage throw the countrey, according to the first conditioun of the pasport, it was ansrit that some comissionaris should be sent to talk with hir at York, quha should resolue hir of all thinges. Bot to the effect I may returne to my purpois, the nobles of Scotland quha were convenit with hir at Dumfries, understanding hir bent mynd to pas in England, they withstoode hir for mony reasones, alledging that the Queene and Counsall of England meant na mair uprightly to hir at that tyme, nor they hade to diuers of hir predecessors afoir tyme, quhilke was, to keepe hir sure within thair kingdome, neuer to cum lous againe. And to reule be thair usurpit suppostis in Scotland, as they hade done befoir in the dayes of king Robert Bruce and many utheris, to halde this realme perpetuallie at vnder, vsing mony vther reasones to dissuade hir from that purpois : bot all was in vaine, hir will be-

hoovit to be accomplished. Thair was sa great beleef given to the pasport and the ring on hir pairt, that shoe got neuer credence to requyte thame with hir thankes ; and thus shoe past in England upoun hope of forder courtesie.

The regent understanding of this, was uncertane quwhat to conceave in mynd, and in the meane tyme hade exponit some sould-eoris toward Clyddisdaill, and they entring in the castell and palice of Hamiltoun obtanit great spuilize, quhilk thai brocht to Edinburgh to the regent in coffers as it was gotten, and he comandit the same to be sent to the castell of Edinburgh, under the custody of Sir Williame Kirkaldy of Grange, knight, and then he warnit all the Queens partakeris at this last conflict, to compeir befor the secret counsall to answeere for thamesclues, and these that disobeyit he cawsit thair cheef houses to be cassin doun, and thair guidis confiscat to his vse, sic was the greedynes of that tyme. And he thinking this not to be sufficient, did proclame a parlia-

ment to be haldin in the moneth of July againe, the quhilk tyme all of the surname of Hamiltoun and utheris partakers, with the Queenes favoraris of hir factioun in onywayes, were sumonit to compeir. The dissobeyeris were maid postscript, and foir-faultit, to the ends he might be also annoyntit with the fatnes of thair landis and rentis. For the quhilk sever handling, he gat sick a recompence as eftir shall appeir.

Quhill he rewles thus in Scotland, to the greeff and hurt of many of the Queenes trew subjectis notwithstanding of hir absence, tua famous Lordis of Scotland departed the countrie toward Lunden in England, to Queene Elizabeth and hir counsall, be comissioun of the rest of the Lordis of hir factioun, to desire that they wald be sa gude as to send the Queene of Scotland triumphandly hame againe, with a competent number of valiant men to suppres hir rebellis. Bot the intencion of England was neuer bent that way, as the progres and end declarit. During



this season, the Lordis of Scotland of the Queene's factioun maid an uproar in the southwest pairt thair of, be instigatioun of Archibald Earle of Argyll, calling himself Lieuetenant for the Queene in these pairts, and the Earle of Huntly, calling himself Lieuetenant for the Queene in the northe pairtis, be comissioun, quhilk was publicly proclaimit in Aberdein. They were deliberat to assailzie the regent in all handis, and quhill he is at Striviling, his death is conspyrit be twa men, the ane was William Stewart, king of arms, and Patrick Hepburne, persoun of Kenmore. And howsoone the intelligence thair of was divulgat unto him, he cawsit enquire for the men. The Lyoun escaipit at that tyme, and the persoun was comittit to preasoun, and thaireftir punished. Bot the Earle of Argyll, and certane utheris of his complices, come to Glasgow, and assayit the castell thair of. Thir newes were cariet in England, bayth to the Queene Elizabeth, and Queene Marie; and some were directit



to Queene Marie coloratly, as though they had bein hir friends, declairing unto hir, that shoe wald be thought ane unwelcum ghaist in England to suscitat rebelloun in hir countrey, shoe being thair under the clemency of thair prince; and thairfore, giff shoe wald wish to be weill lykit of thair, shoe should be a peace maker, rather than a peace breaker. This was done to diminish her factioun, and dissolue sick as were bandit with her in affectioun, to the end, that giff they should be aues separated againe, the regent myght the better be revengit on thame. Quhairupoun shoe was persuadit, being then in my Lord Scrupis maintenance at Boltoun, to wreitt to these Lordis, desyring thame to stay for that tyme, and to separat themselues till shoe were better advysit, quhilk they obeyit. And to the end they should haue occasion to dryve tyme with the Queene, quha daylie suitit to haue the benefect of the pasport to be accomplishit: And England, be the contrair, neuer meaning nor under-

standing that, they answerit, that the regent of Scotland hade desyrit, that hir Maiestie should not be sent back againe as a persoun not worthie to beare rewll in a common weill for many respectis, quhilk he wald willinglie declaire befor the counsall of England, giff so it should pleas the Queene to heir bayth the pairties. This overture was very acceptable to ye counsall of England, quha desyrit na uther thing bot protracting of tyme, to put hir first grounds out of memorie. The Queene was urgit to graunt heirunto for hir pairt, at the quhilk she stormit a litill. Bot it was replyt be the Queene of England's messingir, that hir maistres was verrie willing to please the Queene in all maner of way, provyding shoe myght be resolut of sum doubtis newly obiectit againes hir, the verity quhairof were verrie necessary for hir to know. And becaus the Queene was then com in England to craue sick ressonabill help as may be spairit, and thairwithall hade accusit hir aduerser enemies ; and

they being accusit be the Queene of England for sick thair enormities, as the Queene hade given in bill : They answerit, yat they were content to answeire befoir hir Maiestie in England in these materis ; and for thair pairt, wald referr the sensement thair of unto hir ; and thairfore mikle mair should the Queene of Scotts doe the lyke, quha was come to craue upoun leasum maner, as they doubtit not. Upoun this thair fair persuasioun, shoe consentit in lyke maner to be hard. Bot this forme of doing baith tendit to hir turpitude and skaith. For immediately comissionares were direict from the Court of Landon to the citye of York, to meete thair upoun the fourt day of October, as they did ; and thairfore, to assist the Queen's pairt, Duke Hamiltoun and the Abbot of Kilwynning landit in England from France the last day of September. Thair come from Scotland againes the Queene, the Regent, James Earle of Mortoune, Patrick Lord Lindesay, Secretarie Lethingtoun, my Lord of Orknay, the

Abbot of Dumfermling, Mr James M'Gill, Mr Henrie Balnaves, and Mr George Buchannan. The commissionaris of Scotland for the Queene were these: the Bishop of Rosse, the Abbot of Kilwyning, my Lord Heres, Lord Levingstoun, my Lord Boyd, the Laird of Lochinvarr, the Laird of Skirling, the laird of Rosling, and the Laird of Garntully. The comissioneris for the Queene of England to heir thair complaintis of utheris, were these: the Duke of Northffolk, the Earle of Sussex, and Sir Rauf Saidler, knyt.

The Queene of Scotland complanit to the comissionaris of England that shoe was euil handlit be hir subiectis many wayes, and namely be these thair put, to witt: The Erle of Murray regent, and the Erle of Mortoun, first be comitting of murther in hir awin chalmer; secondlie, be conspyring againes hir at the castell of Borthwick; and, last of all, be cuming twyse in the feild in warefare againes hir, quhairby shoe was constranit to flie out of the coun-



trey. Quhairfore shoe desyrit to be peaceably reponit to hir awin place againe to rewle as a lawful princes, and these and all utheris hir subiects should be compellit to recognosce hir as thair lawfull Soueraigne. This complaint subscriyvit as folowes :

JOANNES ROSSEN.

HERIES.

LEVINGSTOUN.

KILVINNING.

BOYD.

FLEEMING.

The Regent and his company answerit on this maner: It is notoriouslie knawin, that vmquhill the King's grace was slaine; that the Queene hade mariet James Erle Bothwell, the principall actor thair of; and thairfore, to put the Queene to freedome, and out of bondage, and to preserue thair native prince furth of the handis of him that murtherit his father: for that caus they tuik armes and offerit twa sundrie tymes to try the mater in singular battell according to the law of armes, quhilk was



alluterly refusit be him. Bot the Queene forseing the danger, cawsit him to be convoyit away ; and thairefter shoe come willinglye to Edinburghe with us, quhair we requyring her gif shoe would be contentit to see the murtherer of hir husband to be punisht, shoe gaue us na answeire ; bot said shoe should be avengit on us, and wald avoyd the realme : And we heiring hir in these extremities, were compellit to sequesterat hir for a seasoun in preseoun, quhairin she became sa vnhabill, that willingly shoe remittit that office gouernment to me James Earle of Murray, being then absent furth of the realme. It is thairfore requyrit on the King's behalf, that he and his regent may peaceablie enjoy and governe his realme according to God's calling, and that his disobedient subiects may be cawsit recognosce thair dewtifull obedience, and that justice may receave full executioun. And subscrivrit thus :

JAMES REGENT.

MOIRTOUN.

ORCHADEN.

DUNFERMLYNE.

PATRIK LINDESAY.

The comissionaris for the Queene of Scotland replyit thus: Utheris or adversars doe affirme, that King Henrie was murdrest. Trew it is, and hir Maiestie and we doe heavily lament that tragedye, and were willing to haue rigorously punisht the same, giff shoe hade not bein unlawfully molestit: And quhair they alledge the Earle Bothwell being principall actor of that murther, cawsit tak themselves in armes; this cannot excuse thair disobedient fact contrair our soveraigne: for gif he was principall murtherer, it was neuer knawin to hir Grace: bot the contrair did weill appeire: for he was put to the cognitioun of a jure at the barr for that cryme, and was acquyte thairof be his pearis, quhilk is also ratifiet in parliament be the best and greatest number of the nobility in Scotland, quha also solistit our Sove-

raigne Ladye to accomplish hir mariage with him as the maist faithfull and worthie man of the realme of Scotland, quhomwithall neuer falt was fund till they hade first practysed with the keeper of the castell of Edinburgh, and obtenit promies be a great number in the toun of Edinburgh to be thair assisters in punishing the said Earle for that and divers utheris alledgit heynous cryms of lesemaiestie. It is thairfore requyrit in hir hienes behalff, that hir maiestie may be supported and fortified by the Queene's hienes of England, peaceably to enjoy and gouerne hir realme and leages thairof, according to it that God has callit hir Grace thairunto, and hir aduersar's vsurpit authoritie to be null frae the beginning, with all that may follow thairupoun.

These reasounes hard and sein be the comissionars having alwayes respect to delay, tooke thame to be advysit be the Queene of England and Counsall; and thairfore said they should tak iorney with all possible diligence; and quhen they

hade cum hither, and hade exposit in wrett the complaint, answeare, and reply; and the Counsall seeming to find sum pointes thair of sa mistie; desyrit that twa comissionaris should be sent to Lundon for the Queene, with full power, &c., and utheris for the Regent. From the Queene was sent the Bishop of Rosse and my Lord Heres; and for the Regent was sent Secretarie Lethingtoun, Mr James M'Gill, and Henry Balnaves.

During this remaining in England, the Lords of the Queene's factioun were steering, and dang out the imposit keeparis from certane housses of strenth, as namely the castell of Drafen and Roisten. And in the moneth of Februar, the Regent come hame; within a few dayes efter, Duke Hamiltoun, the Lord Hereis and Boyd returnit in Scotland. And albeit my Lord Duke hade remanit all this whyll in England, he was not permitted to haue acces to the Queene. And to confirme the delay that they meant always to the Queene, they patt



the Bishopp of Rosse comissionar for hir in prisoun, within the toure of Lunden, and daily maid hir pairty weaker, that the Regent's pairty myght be stronger. He thairfore addrest himselff toward Hamiltoun, with a reasonabill company of armit men, to rander all men vnder his obedience in the Queene's (King's) name: and being then in Glasgow, to haue cum forward, Duke Hamiltoun and the Bishop of St Andrews perceaving the delaying shiftes and falsity off England toward the Queene and thameselues without a head, unhabill to doe ony thing, deliberat to compoun with the Regent. They sent thair message afoir hand unto him, to desyre comuning, quhilk he grauntit; and efter lang talking familiarly ane to another, they sett down these articles following.

#### ARTICLES:

It is desyrit for the pairt of my Lord Regent, that my Lord Duke and his adhe-



rentis shall recognosce the King and his authoritie, and acknowledge thameselues to be his subiectis, and promise vnto him service, obedience, and fidelitie in all tyme cuming, as unto thair Soveragine.

It is requyrit on the pairt of the Duke and his adherentis, that euerie nobleman be admittit to haue his place in counsell, as thair predecessors has bein in all tymes of uther princes of this realme. And my Lord Regent, bearing the King's authoritie, shall be sworne solemnatly from that tyme forewart to behaue himselff uprightly and indifferently to thame as to the remanent noblemen of this realme in all thair honest iust causes, without particularitie or remembrance of ony offence conceavit amonges thame, during the tyme of thair contrauersies.

Item, that all these quha shal be content in tyme cuming, to behaue thameselues as faithfull subiects to the King, and acknowledge thair obedience to him, sal be restoir-ed to thair lands, bounds, heretages, and

possessions, notwithstanding ye dome of foirfaltor led againes thame, provyding alwayes that this benefect shall not be extendit to thame that has bein foirfaltit for airt and pairt of the slauchter of umquhill the King's father. Item, that my Lord Regent, and remanent nobillmen ioynit with himself, shall condescend to sick heads and articles as may redound to the Queene's honor, advancement, and comodity, and may best serve hir turne, provyding that the same be not prejudiciall to the King nor his soueranity, quhairupoun depends the security of all nobillmen, and utheris professing thameselues to be his subiects.

And because my Lord Regent and utheris on his pairt are alsweill content to yeeld to thir reasonabill desires foirsaid as to craue the performance of his desire toward the King's obedience at thair hands, and will weill that all cum togidder at a tyme, becaus now publick leasure cannot serue to compleet these things that are necessair

to be done to the Queene ; it is thought convenient, that on the tenth day of Aprill nix to cum, sall be assemblitt and conveint togidder in Edinburgh in queitt and peaceable maner thir personnes following : They are to say, my Lord Regent, my Lord Duke, the Earles of Huntlye, Argyll, Atholl, Moirtoun, Marr, Glencarne, and my Lord Hereis ; and in cais of absence of ony of thir nyne persones, be seeknes or vther lafull impediment, ane uther nobleman of that pairty shal be chosen to supplie his place ; and thair, in freindlie maner, to treat, conclude, and agrie upoun sick heads as shal be peremit to the Queene, and quhat the said personnes shal find to redound to hir honor (without prejudice to the King), the haill nobilmen on baith syds shall condescend thairto. And for security of the cuming of the nobility foirsaid, my Lord Regent promiseiss, on his honour, that they shall be skaithless and without danger in thair cuming, remaining, and returning. It is agreit, that my Lord

Duke of Chattellarault, nor his adherentis, shall not challenge, use, nor execut na authoritie of Leuetenandrie be ony commissioun of the Queene, or that ony impediment be maid be thame againes the King's authoritie in the meane tyme, and ordaines forces of fensibill men to be dissoluit in all syds, that na injure be done to ony subiect beway of deid.

The Regent promessis, upoun his honor, to performe sa farr as concernis his pairt, and tharefore willis the Duke's Grace, the Earle of Cassells, and my Lord Heries, to enter sufficient pleages presently for performance of thair pairtes, to wit, ane of my Lord Duke's sonnes, the Earle of Cassells, or his brother, and my Lord Heries eldest son.

The articles being concludit and endit, they past togidder to Striviling to visite the young King, quhair the Duke's Grace and the bishop of St Androis were maid welcum : And as concerning the entering of the pleages, becaus nane of my Lord



Duke's sonnes wald enter, the Bishop enterit for his pairt; the Earle of Cassells and my Lord Heries remanit still of thair awin accord, and send for thair pleages to cum and releue thame.

Thairefter the Regent came to Edinburgh, and first at his arryvell, to giue a testimony how willing he was of peace and tranquillitye, he relaxt all the preasoneris before tauld, condemnit persones and uthers from captivitey for a tyme, upoun conditioun that they should enter againe quhen they should be reqyrit; and for the mair security heirof, fand caution.

The Earle of Huntlye in the north of Scotland was exerciseand his office of Leuetenandrie with all rigor againes these that hade declynit from the Queene's authoritie in ony sort, and had assemblit a sufficient armie to haue subdewit the provinces of Mernis, Angus, and Fyff. Bot being advertisit of this foirsaid apointment, thocht meet to cease. The Regent also, for his pairt, to peacifie tumults and op-



pressioun in the south, past in Liddisdaill, and thair demolisht the housses of Mangertoun and Quhythauch for thair unlawfull behavior.

And as the day apointit to treat of, and conclude of the purposses concerning the Queene and utheris of hir syde aproacht, all pairties for the Queene, upoun the hope of the assurance foirsaid grantit unto thame, convenit in Edinburgh the tenth day of Aprill 1569: and quhen, as all pairties were set down, and begun to reasoun of the mater, it was proponit for the Regent's pairt to Duke Hamiltoun and these Lords of the Queene's pairt, whidder they wald not absolutely subscryve thair obedience to the King's autoritie or not. It was answerit, that articles were redd and coucludit conditionally, and that they were na mair debtfull to shaw thair obedience to the King, then the Regent was to performe certaine conditiones for the Queene's honor, as the comuning was befor: And thairfore, they should not be sa straittit or trappit at the

first, vnto the tyme that the questioun for the Queene should haue equal place with that of thairs : And thairfoir, gif he wald deale trewly and faithfullie with thame, according to the trew meaning of the articles, they were not only thair presence in persoun for performance thair of, bot alsua thair pleages were in my Lord Regent's keeping. In respect of this answeire, assurance was broken againes bayth the honor and promise : For, first, my Lord Duke was detenit in my Lord Regent's chalmer from his awin ludging for the space of aucht dayes ; and thairefter, without ony farder comuning, was comittit to preasoun within the castell of Edinburgh, and the verie first night, my Lord Heries, laitt at evin, was compellit to ludge in that castell.

In the moneth of May, the Regent maid progres to Sterline, quhair four priestes of Dumblane were condemnit to the death for saying of mes againes the act of parliament ; bot he remittit thair lyves, and

causit thame be bund to the mercat croce, with thair vestmentis and challices in dirisoun, quhair the people caist eggis and uther villany at thair faces be the space of an hor, and thairefter thair vestiments and challices were brunt to ashes. From that he past to St. Androis, quhair a notabill soceres callit Nicniven was condemnit to the death and brunt, and a Frencheman callit Paris, quha was ane of the devyseris of the King's death, was hangit in St Andro, and with him Williame Steward, Lyoun King of armes, for diuers pointes of witchcraft and necromancie.

In the moneth of Junii, Thomas Lord Boyd come from England in message to the Regent from the captive Queene, desyring that the proces of partitioun betuix hir and the Earle of Bothwell should be deducit befor the comissaris of Edinburgh, to the end shoe might the mair friely adjoyne hirselff in mariage with the Duke of Northfolk : secondlie, that shoe might haue the Regent's consent, with the haill nobilitie of

Scotland to this purpos ; and last of all, that she might be repossess peaceable to hir awin kingdom.

The Regent convocat his counsall, and introductit the ambassador to declair his petitions ; and when he hade exponit thame, as they be heir set doun, he was imediatlye removit for a verry small tyme, and thair-efter callit in againe, to quhom they gaue a compendious answeare, that nather wald they deale in onie case for hir in this countrie, nather wald they consent to hir pretence of mariage, nor restoir hir to hir kingdom. Thairefter they sent aduertisement of thir petitions and thair answeare to the Queene of England, quha was als glaid thairof as thameselues : For fra that hour furth, the Queene of Scotland was daylie keepit straitter in England ; and the Duke of Northfolk put in sick disgrace with his prince, that he gat neuer repose in this world, till he hade lost his head for this pretence only ; and the Lordis of the Queene's factioun in Scotland put

to sick straittes, that it was not thought expedient to be pleagit be thair enemies at hame, bot England wald performe the extreimties thair of, as shall be sufficientlie declarit ; sa that the reedar shall haue ample testimonies and examples in number to judge, whither, from the beginning to the end they did not, under cullor of friendship, annoy the Queene and hir friends, and promove hir enemies : and sa let wreitt and wark beir witnes. The Lordis foirsaid being thus unhoneſtly incarcerat, the Earle of Huntlye finding himſelf deſtitute of his friends in the ſouth, enterit himſelf to the Regent, with certaine conditions ; bot nane of thame was keepit ; for imediately thair-efter, the Regent paſt to Aberdien, and thair cauſit ilk man that aſſiſtit the Earle of Huntly to compoun for ſick unreaſonable ſoumes of money, quhairby the gritteſt pairt were beggerit from the beſt to the meaneſt, to the end they ſhould be unable to mak inſurreccioun againe. And in the end of this zeir the Earle of Argyll maid alſo his obedience.



In the moneth of August, as the Queene of Scotland was prepared to haue returnit hame with assistance of the Duke of North-folk, the Queene of England not only sent advertisement thair of to the regent, bot dischairgit the Duke of that his purpois, quhairby it fell out that the regent being putt in a doubt, wraitt to the nobilitie to repair to Stirlin in haist. The Earles of Crawford and Athoill were cumming to the conventioun, and by the way hapnit to be hunting about Dumblane, and Secretarie Lethingtoun being in thair company, the regent suspectit that thai were practyzing sumqwhat for the Queenes returne, quhilk he dreidit. Alwayes, quhen the Lordis were all convenit in the counsall hous, thair was a gentillman callit Thomas Crawford, servand to the Earle of Lennox, intromittit, and he, in presence of the regent and the Lordis, accusit Secretarie Lethingtoun of the Kingis murther. The Secretarie presentlie offerit him to find caution to be answerable to the lawes for that cryme

how soone he should be requyrit thairto. Crawford replyit that becaus he was accusit of treasoun he should not be permittit to find caution, bot should be compellit to remaine in preasoun till he should be tryit ather cleane or giltye; and the Lordis voittit that he should be imprisouned. The Earle of Athoill was hierat havily comovit, and departed from Stirlin immediatlie. This accusatioun was devysit be the regent and the Earle of Moirtoun, for that same night he directit sum gentillmen to Monymaill in Fyfe, to apprehend Sir James Balfour and a brother of his, quha were alsua imprisoned at Stirlin. The Secretarie was convoyit to Edinburgh castell, and Sir James Balfour was fred, to return upoun caution when he should be requyrit, and that fell neuer. My Lord Seatoun was comandit to enter himself prisoner in Edinburgh, quhilk he obeyit, bot shortlie thairefter he was comandit in prisoun to St Androis. At the day quhen the Secretarie Maitland should haue bein broght furth to

the cognitioun of a jure, the capitaine of the castell of Edinburgh compeerit in presence of the regent, and said he was readie to pröduce him in iudgement gif anie body were presente to accuse him ; and thairefter the Secretaries brother compeirit in iudgement befor the judge criminall, and protestit that his brother should not be haldin to answeere onie farder in that mater, becaus thair was na persoun thair present to accuse him. My Lord Home was comandit to reteere himself furth of the toun of Edinburgh, to mak place to the Earle of Moirtoun his enemie, quha wald not enter becaus of his being thair befor him.

The regent was daylie bissie to haue had the castell of Dumbarton in his handis. And hade directit my Lord Grahame sundrie tymes for that effect, bot come na speid. Thairfor he directit furth some soulderis to camp besyd the hous, that na victualles should be permittit to enter, and in the meane tyme causit forfait my Lord Fleyming and his brother keeparis

thairof. Bot or it was lang, even in short tyme of the winter, thair came twa French shippes laidnit with wynes, saltit beef, and porc, with stoir of money, that procurit ane intestine ware, and unlaidit thameselues at the castell, quhilk the capitaine thankfullie receaut.

At this tyme quhat kind of uproar fell in England, I referr to the writters of that countrey ; bot alwayes becaus thair is a mater of thairs intendit to this purpois, it should not be unspoken. The mater was thus. The Earle of Northumberland fled in Scotland for releef, and wald haue bein convoyit to the castell of Dumbarton ; bot the regent being then upoun the borderis, be expres direction of the Queene of England, to attend upoun Englishmen, gif ony should happen to cum in Scotland, for shoe hade prepared ane armie at hame to assalzie thame thair, and the regent's horsmen espying sum strangeris to cum amang the clan of the Scottis, they laid about the hous ; the Scottis defendit stoutlye, and

slew ane Capitaine Borthuick, bot in the end thair partie grew waker, quhairby the Earle was taen prisoner and led to the regent, and he broght him to Edinburgh. Bot without lang proces causit him to be convoyit to Lochleavin, thair to be straitly keepit till he payit ane odious ransome, to the great ignominy of the countrey; bot quha begyns with treasoune, think na syn to end with falsett. Within few dayes thairefter, the Queene of England sent in hir ambassador to the regent, desyring the Earle of Northumberland to be sent bak in England, bot befor he could haue sufficient leaser to giue him answeire in that mater, he was slaine.

I maid mentioun befor of the unhonest dealing to the Duke of Chattelarault and the Lordis of the Queenes factioun, quhairat and for an other particular caus he was sa deadly haitted that his death was conspyrit be a particular man, callit James Hamiltoun of Bothuellhauch, and althogh the regent was sufficientlye forwarnit bayth of



the man and of the place of his interpryse, zit he regairdit sa sleuthfullie that mater as it fell out. This James Hamiltoun, amangs many uthers courageous gentillmen of that clan, happnit to be at the feild of Langsyde with the Queene, and being taken prisoner was condemnit to the death, bot thairefter was lattin free, zit according to the law of Scotland not only his proper landis were confiscat to the king, bot alsua the landis of Woddisslie, perteining heritably to his wyff, was also confiscat, quhairby they were baith put to shift. And the saikles gentillwoman thinking not to be punisht for hir husbandis fact, sat doun in hir awin hous, quhair she intendit simplie and bonafide to haue remanit, bot was uncourtouslie and unmercifullie putt thairfra, all hir gudis taine fra her, and shoe left stark naiked. The gentillwoman, quhat for greef of mynde and exceeding could that shoe hade then contractit, conceavit sic madnes as was almaist incredibill. Hir husband hauing receauit these thrie in-

comodities, was deliberat to putt his lyfe to fortoun, and avowit in diuers oppin companies to be avengit on the bastard regent (for these were his ordinar wordis); and thus desperately, upoun the thrie and twentie day of Januar he cam to Linlithgow quhair the regent was then remaining, and addrest himself to ane timber gallerie on the high street of that toun, quhair he knew weill that the regent was deliberat to pas at out-cuming; and thair, upoun the pavement of the said gallerie he laid a fedder bed, and upoun the windowes he affixt blak claithes, that his shaddow should not be seen, nor his feit hard quhen he went to and fro, and cuttit ane small hole in the tarlies, quhairby he might vissie with his hagbute. To be the mair certane of his interpryse, at his incuming to the ludging be a bak passage, he espyit how comodiouslie he might mak his retreat upoun horsbak; and finding the lentell stane of the bak zet to be sumquhat laiche, he cawsit his man to lift off the lentell, and lay it at a syd of the way:

his hors stude in the stabill brydlit all that nyghte of his entrie, and the best pairt of the nixt day till his conceavit interpreyse of revenge was performit. The regent being on horsbak to reteere furth of the toun, his passage fell directlie under the gallerie quhair the said James Hamiltoun was attending upoun his destinat purpois, quhair be chance he was constrainit to stay a littell, becaus the people on horsbak were in sa gritt number befoir him, that for the narrownes of that passage they could ryde bot at leasure, and few in number ; so that his oppurtunity was sa fyne, and he not willing to lose any tyme, went sa quickly to work that in continent he shott his hagbutt directit againes the regent's belt, quhair thair enterit a bullett of stell temperit, that efter it hade peircit him throw the bodye it peircit alswa a hors nerely to the death. Incontinent thairefter he ran to the stabill and lapp on horsbak and furth by the bak way he went ; diuers gentillmen followit him fearcily, bot he being upoun ane fyne

speedye hors, ouerun thame all, and escapit the imminent dangers that were prepared againes him. The regent thus endit his triumphand warldly dayes in sic suddainty and sa tragically as ye haue heard. He was the sone of a valiant King, James of Scotland, the fyft of that name, quha as he was somewhat luxurious in his youth, and welle beloved of gentillwomen for his courteus affability, sa were they alswa belouit of him, quhairby it fell out that he begot mony children befoir his mariage with famous ladies, of quhais number this regent James was ane. In his maners very courtious and affabill, of a fyne proportion of bodye, of a gude and amiable vissage, of a guide knowledge in humane sciences, bot was sa credulous that he was broght to forgett his promiseis, and consequently his witt and honestie. His bodye was buriet in the collegian kirke of (St Geils at) Edinburgh, in ane speciall tomb prepared for that effect.

Gif diuisiones and tumultis were great in this regentis tyme, they were na less efter his deceis, bot rather gritter and of a mair difficultie to be pacified, for be his sud-daine slaughter the ambassador of England returnit without ansyr. George Lord Seatoun past out of prisoun, the Earle of Northumberland (Westmorland) enterit in Scotland fugitiue from his awin countrey as Northumberland (Westmorland) was, and addrest himself to twa famous borderirs, to witt, Balcleuche and Ferneherst; they at his procurement convocat numbers of horsmen and past daylie in England, burneand, destroyeand, and slayand the Queenes and thair enemies tenentis and landis, quhairby shoe thocht expedient to send a new ambassador, desyring the subiects of Scotland to be pacifiet and punisht, and hir rebellious subiects reteerit in Scotland to be sent hame to be recompencit as they deserue, and withall gaue money to the Lordis of the regentis factioun to conduce souldiers for mentenance of thair caus



aganes the Queene of Scottis and hir fa-  
vourer.

The Earle of Moirtoun being destitutt  
of a fyne fauorer of his former actions and  
estimation above the rest of the Lordis of  
that factioun, he sent his letters to diuers  
of the nobilitie, and cheefly to sic as he  
knew haittit the Queene and hir caus, to  
conveine in Edinburgh againe the twelf  
daye of Februar nix to cum, thair to con-  
sult upoun the electioun of a new regent,  
that ather he might be electit himself, or  
at least sic a ane as he myght comand at  
all seasons.

The Queenes factioun was als bussi  
on the uther pairt, and convenit in Hamil-  
toun, with Archibald Earle of Argyll, my  
Lord Flemyng, my Lord Livingstoun, and  
the haill gentillmen of the Hamiltouns.  
Thai directit a letter to the nobilitye then  
conveint in Edinburgh, desyring thame in  
the Queenes name to conclude nathing at  
that conventioun, unto the tyme that the  
rest of the nobilitye and they should con-  
curr with thame at all, or at the least the

moniest voittes should serue for all the rest, and the best reasoun should carrie all with it. Utherwayes gif they seeme then to contempne and not allow this request, they certifiēt thame be that letter that they would come upoun thame to persew thame as enemies to the comoun peace of the countrey, and traitors to thair awin undoubtit soueraine prince,<sup>1</sup> Queene Marie, and that with fyre and sword, and wald giue God the caus.

The Lordis read this letter, bot esteemit the samin not worthie of an answeare, bot imediatlye thairefter publisht a proclamation to the people, quhairin was contenit, That becaus a Hamiltoun hade slaine the regent, and was reteeret to Hamiltoun efter that fact, quhair he was receauit and allowit, they comandit all the King's trew subiects to shawe thameselues profest enemies to thame, utherwayes they should be reputt as doers of that deed ilk ane of thame.

Then the Secretarie Lethingtoun finding his tyme comodious, delt sa with the Lordis

conveint in Edinburgh be intercession of the capitaine of the castell, that he obtenit of thame quhat he wald. Sa that they all in ane voite, voittit, declarit, and testifiet, that as they nor nane of thame knew thesaid Secretarie to be culpabill of thesaid murther, nor wald not accuse him of the samen, sa they esteemit him innocently to be calumniat in tyme bygane in the said mater, tending to the prejudice of the King's estate and his trew subiectis, and thairfoir acknowledges and recognosces him as ane honest man, inocent of the said maters quhairfoir heirtofoir he was saikleslie accusit; accepting and receauing him in his awin place againe. Lykas they acknowledge him to haue bein ane gude and profitable instrument in this comonwealth, in diuers great causes, for the furthering of God's glorie, and repose and quietnes of this countrey native. Subscrivit.

ATHOLE.

LYNDSAY.

MOIRTOUN.

CATHCART.

F

CASSILLS.	ADAMUS ORCHADEN.
MARR.	DUNFERMLING.
GLENCAIRNE.	CAMBUSKYNNETH.
MONTROIS.	DRYBURGH.
BUCHAN.	BALMERINOCHE.
RUTHVEN.	PITTINWEEME.
GLAMIS.	TULLIBAIRDINE.
LOVET.	COMPTROLLER.
VOCHILTRIE.	JUSTICE CLERK.
METVEN.	

This done, he was delyurit fra prisoun, and with him my Lord Seatoun ; and the Lordis past that day efter noone to the castell of Edinburgh, and thair enquiryt of the Duke of Chattelarault gif he knew ony thing of the slaughter of the regent, quha gaue his aithe that he knew nathing of that purpois till it was told him that it was done.

In the moneth of March the Lordis of baythe factiouns compeirit in Edinburgh ; the Queenes factioun ludgit thameselues near the castell, and were callit be the uther pairtie (in derisoun) the Lordis of the

Meill markett, for the Secretaris nature, as I told you afoir, was subtile, and was sufficientlie instructit in the preceptis of Nicolas Matchiavell. And heir it is to be noted be the imprisounment of my Lord Seatoun, the Secretarie Lethingtoun, and my Lord Duke of Chattelarault, the capitaine of the castell of Edinburgh was dissuadit from his former opinioun. Quhen thir pairties were conveyit in counsall, those of the Queenes pairt proponit, That thair Sovereigne should ather be restorit be the plurality of voittes presente, or utherwayes to be conveyit befor they should dissolue, or ells that be thair generall consentis sum worthie Lieutennent or Viceroy should be electit to reulle in hir place, foir quhas mentenance every propertie or casualty apperteining to the croun should be designit, and the rest to the Queene for supplie of hir unlawfull detentioun. The uther pairtie hearing that thair was na mentioun maid of the King to regne be a tutor in



soueraintie, bot that the Queene should be preferrit, could not, nor wald not understand thame, nor giue answeire in that ground without advysement; and thairfoir sent aduertisement to the Queene of England desyring hir aduise in this purpois, as in utheris afoir tending to this fyne, and withall directit thair letters to Mathew Earle of Lennox, grandfather to the young King, desyring him to cum in Scotland, and they wald prefer him to be regent to the King, and defend him thairin, becaus the place then vaikit be deceis of the former regent, quhairof alsua the Queene of England was then privie.

The King of Fraunce directit alsua his letters in Scotland be his ambassador Monsieur Verac, and eurie nobillman in particular that favourit the Queene; and efter his arrivell, hir enemies in Scotland wraitt to the Queene of England for hir sure detentioun. Heir the mater began at sic stryffe, that the haill realme of Scotland was sa devydit in factiones that it was hard

for onie peaceabill man, as he redd out the hie way, to profes himselff opiny ather to be a favorer of the King or Queene. All the people were cassin sa louse, and were become of sic dissoluit myndis and actiones, that nane was in account bot he that wald ather kill or ryve his nybour. All gude pollice and law, iustice, and equiety was buried, as it becumes for the maist pairt of all comonwealthes, yea even of the private families, that when ather of thame are destitutt of thair lawfull and ordinar heid or gouernor, ilk priuat persoun rewles as he list, or may perforce, for his awin preferment and comoditie, without regaird of right or reasoun.

And as concerning Mathew Earle of Lennox, quha was desyrit be the Lordis foirsaid to return in Scotland, quha hade sein sa meikle of the unstabill miserie thair-of afoir, and hade sufficientlye sufferit in his awin persoun, first be banishment, and nixt by sorrow and distress of mynde, as any father might haue hade for the died of

sic a princely sone, could not tak hold of onie of these motiones to containe himselff in England, quhair he lived in honor, wealthe, and ease. Bot as warldly men are foir the maist pairt addictit to warldly pompe and glorie, as hes na respect to the instabilitie of estaittes, sa was he, as the progres of his lyfe was neuer in rest fra his entres to this office quhilk he efterwards obtenit, that euen the verrie day and hour of his deathe was sa tragicall, that he endit not without sorrow and extreme paine, as shall be declairit heirefter. The Queene of Scotland sent alswa the laird of Gairnully from England with letters to the Earle of Marr, desyryng him to keepe hir sone the prince from the handis of hir enemies, and to be a meane to restoir hir to hir place againe (as his dewtie was) utherwayes to assure hir enemies, that gif they wald not speedilye be content and procure hir returne, that the King of Fraunce wald with all rigor be avengit on thame. He broght uther wryttings to the rest of the

nobillmen of hir pairt. They in the moneth of March 1570 assemblit in great number at Nidrie Seatoun, and thair deliberat to meat in Linlithgow the 8 of Aprill nixt to cum. The Lordis of the uther factioun dreiding sum tumult to ensew, (for they understude their aduersars to be greemit for the lang detentioun of the Duke of Chattelarault in prisoun) they not only relaxt him, bot alsua my Lord Heries, furth of the castell of Edinburgh.

Thair conveinit in Linlithgow at the appointit day the ambassador of Fraunce, the Duke of Chattelarault, the Earles of Argyll, Huntlie, Atholl, Crawford, and Cassillis, the Lordis Home, Fleyming, Boyd, Seatoun, Yester, Somervell, Olyphant, Ogilvie, Borthwick, and Herries, my Lord Secretarie and Sir James Balfur, twa banisht Lordis of England, the Earle of Westmoreland and my Lord Dakeris, and thair thair had advysit of a secret answeire to be sent in Fraunce for dispathe of the ambassador: they thocht not the toun of Lin-



lithgow sure for thair remaining togedder, and giue they should dissolue, they fearit that thair enemies, be assailzing thame in particular, should soone mak thair pairtie weaker. And thairfoir directit James Harriot of Trabroun to the magistrattis of the toun of Edinburgh, desyring that thai might be resauit thare, quhilk was grauntit upoun this conditioun, that nane of the Lordis of England should be broght with thame, and thus was receauit. Alwayes the Lordis were sa myndfull of the saiftie of the nobillmen of England, that my Lord Home tuik exceeding great care on thame, and convoyit thame quhair they list; and in end maid provisioun for a shipp, quhilk with expeditioun and gude lucke convoyit thame baith safliie to Flaunders.

The Queene of England was comovit at this the conventioun of the Lordis of Scotland; and fearing least this gude treatment of thir hir rebellis should suscitatum new seditioun in England, and that the Queene of Fraunce, by sending of hir



frequent ambassador to the Queene's faction, should alsua mak a stronger pairtie, shoe directit the Earle of Sussex in Scotland for twa cheef causes. The ane was for the saiff convoy of Mathew Earle of Lennox in Scotland, to fortifie, establishe, and hald him in that regiment that was offered to him in Scotland, assuring himself, that he quha was sa lang nurisht within her comonweell, wald attempt na thing in Scotland; bot ather she should be maid privie with it, or giue her consent thairunto, quhilk indeed was effectually accomplished. The vther caus was to be really revengit upoun these of the Queene's faction in Scotland, quha hade resett hir rebellis, and invadit hir countrey againes the comon peace. The Lordis of the Queene's faction wraitt unto him, desyring that he should not cum in Scotland, for they should repay him of onie injurie that he wald plaint of justice; bot he refusit. It was agriet be baith the factiouns to putt thair mater in arbitrie. The men,

place and tyme, appointit for the Queene's pairt, were the Earle of Atholl, the Prior of Coldinghame brother to the Secretarie, and my Lord Boyd. For the uther pairt, was James Earl of Moirtoun, and Robert Comendator of Dunfermline. Quhen they were conveyit in Dalkeith, ilk ane of the pairties were sa wilfull and contrarious of thair grounds, the ane contemning the soveranity of the King, the uther the lawfull soveranities of the Queene, unlawfullie banished and imprisoned, that they neuer condescendit upon a midds, quhilk of nane of the pairtes was wisely considerit in respect of the greatt desolatioun that the comonweill was redactit into ; sa that this purpois was left als debaittable as befoir. Quhairupoun it followit, that ilk pairtie drew to fencible defences, and the ambassador of France was directit to his country, and went to the castell of Dumbartane with my Lord Flyming. The Earle of Sussex enterit with his armie on the south border of Scotland. He first brunt and

kaist down the hous of Phairnyhirst, the hous of Branxholme; he brunt alswa the toun of Hawick, and did great outrage in the Merss, and upoun the landis and tenementis pertening to my Lord Home.

My Lord Duke of Chattlelarault was at this foirsaid conventioun releavit from prison out of the castell of Edinburgh; and the Earle of Moirtoun hearing of sick inovationes, and monie people to be conveint in Edinburgh, was advysit to cum with a number of enarmit men to that toun to compell the Duke, the Earle of Huntlie, and the rest of that factioun, to reteere thairfra perforce. And the captane of the castell (as I said to you befoir) was alreddy becum thair great friend. And hé understanding this preparatioun, sett watches to espye the samen of his approaching to the toun. And as he was narr, the capitane causit dilashe a peece of the great ordinance among his company, that patt him in sick affray, that nather he nor ony uther

in that factioun presumit for a long tyme to approache to Edinburgh.

The armie of England assailziet alswa the castell of Home, quhilk imediatlie was randerit and spuilziet. The Magistrats of Edinburgh being crediblie informit that the Earle of Moirtoun was past unto thame, and appeirandlie wald solist thame to cum foreward (against) the Lordis quhom they hade harbored, went and desyrit thame, of courtesie, to reteere to sum ather pairt, for feare of the danger that might follow unto the toun be thair presence, quhilk wald not happen in thair absence. The Lordis, becaus they were first willingly receauit thair, thought gude to pleasure thame in that caice, and so departed with a number of souldiers that they hade priuily conducet within a short space for thair defence. And in the way passing to Linlithgow, the Earle of Marr was cuming to Edinburgh, the Duke, with his assistance, placed his men in battell, of purpois to haue fochin ; bot Marr being unprovydit,



reteerit out of the way, and wald shaw na defence at that tyme. The Lordis of the uther factioun hearing of this, maid proclamatiouns, that nane should assist sick tumultous persones under the pain of death, with comand to Magistrattis of burrowes, giff they shal happin to cum within thair boundes, to tak and apprehend thame. On the uther pairt, proclamations were maid in Linlithgow, chairging all subiects in the Queene's name to accompanye the Duke of Chattelarault, the Earles of Argyll and Huntly, as chosin Lieuetennentis, under the paine of death. The capitane of the Edinburgh castell, behalding the extremities, and dreading that, be the incuming of the Englishmen, he should be trappit sum way, was deliberat to fortifie the castell with all necessaris, as he did with expeditioun. The Queene's enemeis directit the Abbot of Dumfermline to London requyring support of enarmit men for defence of the King's caus, and suppressing of these quha favorit the Queene, and in



the meane tyme to send hame Mathew Earle of Lennox. Thir petitions were quicklie grauntit unto, upoun condition that they should giue in sum nobillmen and gentillmen pledges in England to remaine thair till hir souldiers should safflie cum back againe. This was willingly grauntit unto; for the Earle of Moirtoun was sent Dowglas of Kilspindie, James Erskine for the Earle of Marr, my Lord Uchiltrie, James Lindesay of Pyestoun for Lord Lindesay, Cunynghame of Waterstoun for the Earle of Glencairne, Allaster Ruthven for my Lord Ruthven. Thir being enterit in Berwicke upoun the tent day of Maij, Sir Williame Drowrie governor of Berwicke accompanyit Mathew Earle of Lennox in Scotland, upoun the nynt day of Maij 1570, with the number of a thousand futemen and of light horsemen, and demilances to the number of thrie hundredrethe, with four peeces of ordinance, and came to Edinburgh the thirteent of Maij; and upoun the twentieth of Maij the Scottis

armie and Englis armie convenit at Hamiltoun, and in the way demolisht the houses, and waistit the cornes of all Hamiltounes, without onie mercie. Finally, with force of gunshott, efter that the castell of Hamiltoun was randerit unto thame, they brunt the same, with the pallace and the haill toune of Hamiltoun. Then they returnit back, and brunt and destroyed all the bounds perteining to my Lord Flyming and my Lord Livingstoun. Then they came to Linlithgowshire, quhair first they brunt my Lord Duke of Chattellarault's ludging in Linlithgow. Nixt they brunt the pallace of Kynneill, the housses of Pardovan and Bynnie, Kincavill, and chapel of Livingstoun. Thus done, they returnit to Berwick, and the Scottis pledges were sent bak againe. The Abbot of Dumfermylne returnit from England, and with him Mr Randell, ambassador for the Queene of England. Then the Earle of Moirtoun, with sum uther few Lordis and this ambassador, past to Stirline, quhair

they constitutt Mathew Earle of Lennox Lieuetennent for the King, till the Queene of England should be farder pleased.

In the moneth of Julij, Mathew Earle of Lennox was electit Regent to King James the Sext his realme and leadges, to enjoy that office unto the tyme that the king should be found abill to gouerne the realme himselff, and that by speciall comand, consent and assent, of the Queene of England. This electioun was publisht to the haill people, and sa monye capitall burrowes quhair officiars myght have access, and by ministers and parochiners in every parochine; and about the end of that moneth, as he was bound to repair to Linlithgow, the Hamiltones gettand sure knowledge thairof, addrest a number of horsemen and futemen in the Callenderwoode, of purpois to haue trappit or killed him; bot he come not that way till he understude of the weariness of thair lang remaining, and were therefore reteerit, and then he addrest him to his voyage. Quhill

he is in Linlithgow, it is reportit unto him that the Earle of Huntly is beseging Aberbrothok, and hes alreddy inclosit George Dowglas, callit George the Postulat, thairin. Quhairfore he directit the Earle of Moirtoun, with a competent number of horsemen, to releëve him; and as he is cum to Perth, he desyrit, in the Regentis name, the supplie of sum hagbutteris. This was grauntit unto him. Then he addrest himself to Breechine, quhair he understude that the Earle of Crawford and my Lord Ogilvie had fortifiet, attending the cuming of Huntly, and had placitt certane men of warre in the kirk. Bot the Lordis, understanding of his approch, removit thameselues, and left the souldiors behind thame. And howsoone Moirtoun was cum to the toun, they shott at him, and slew and hurt diuers of his men. The Regent hearing of this, addrest himself to Breechine; and efter he had remainit a few days straitlye invading the said kirk, it was at last randerit. Thair was within to the number of



ane hundreth and fyftie men, and twa capitanes, the ane callit Cowets, quha with his haill souldiers were hangit; the uther Wymes, quha for payment of sowmes of money for himself and his men, were saiffe.

In the meanetyme, the greatest pairt of the people of the countrey grudget heauilie at the promotion of this Regent, calling him a stranger, and sworne Englishman, and thairfore could na utherways esteme of him, nor of that nation, quhilk hes bein always esteemit the capitall enemy of this countrey. At his returne from Breechine, he assailziet the castell of Doun in the province of Monteith, quhilk was randerit at the first sumoning, with this proviso, that the hous should not be demolisht. And in the meane tyme, the Earle of Sussex, Lieuetennent for the Queene of England, to performe the rest of his maistresses revenge, and to make waike all the pairtie that he myght hurt fauoring the Queene of Scotland, enterit the wast border with four



thowsand men. He first brunt the towne of Annān ; then he sent fyre in the town of Drumfries, spuilziet the housses and the bells of the kirk, took monie prisoners. He caist down my Lord Maxwell's hous in Drumfries, the castell of Hodden, the castell of Annan, the house of Cowhill, the castell of Carlavrok pertaining to my Lord Maxwell was demolisht, and destroyed with poulder Cloisburne, Tynnell, Boneshaw, and diuers utheris houss, and carried away great spuilzie.

The King of Spaine on the uther pairt, was not unmyndfull of the unlawfull detention of the Queene of Scotland, being daylie solicit be hir orator, Mr Johnne Hamiltoun Parsoun of Dumbar, sent commandement to his Viceroy of the Law Countreys, the Duke of Alva, to send sick supplie as he should think expedient in Scotland to the Queenes Lieutennent ; and he imediatlie directit the said orator with twa gentillmen of credence be sea to the Earle of Huntly Lieutennent in the North,

with sum gold for the waging souldiours, six hundrethe fyne hagbuttis, six hundrethe murreonis, six hundrethe corslettis, and thrie thowsand pickes, togidder with seven peece of ordinaunce, and great quantitie of gun pulder: sa that efter these materials were delyurit, they retournet bak be sea againe.

The Lordis of Scotland for the Queenes factioun, to congratulate this gude will, directit George Lord Seatoun to the Duke of Alva, with thanks to the King and to him. And he not content with this negociatioun onlie, thocht gude to extend the samen further, and maid the Duke of Alva privie thereto, that he wald pass amangs the King's enemies, and talk with the Scottis capitaines, baith to knaw of the interpryses, and to sollicit thame to change from the rebellious service of estattes to the King of Spaine. This was very acceptabill to the Duke, and thairfoir he gaue him a reasonable viaticum for performance of this fact. Quhen he was cum amang the capitaines,

he used sick extreme diligence among thame, be banquitting and bribbis, that he subbornit the best halfe under promeis of great recompence. And withall hade send diuers aduertisementis to the Duke, quhilk he sent all in Spaine, quhairby the Lord obtenit great favor. He labourit all to the intent that he might haue obtenit ane armie of ten thousand men to haue landed in Scotland, to invade England. Bot quhen he hade exponit this purpois to the Duke, it was refusit, becaus the King could not obteine mene anew to fortifie his awin caus in Flaunders, yet gif he pleasit to accept of the Kings gude will in that mater, it should be thocht reassonabill. And this it was : That the King wald willynglie, within the space of a moneth, provydit als muckle monie to be transported be his awin veshellies in Scotland, as should sustein ten thowsand men for the space of six moneths, and na forder. Bot befoir he could return ansvere to the Duke, sum of these his practices were discovered, and

being examinat, he stude to a constant deniall; bot proofes were broght in againes him, and avowit sum purpoises in his face. My Lord replyit saying, that nather could sick unhonest knaues as they were be admittit witnes againes him, nor sick infamous rebellis as thai were be judges to him, quha was a ambassador for sick a nobill Princes as his maistress the Queene of Scotland, bot wald appeal to hir awin ordinar judge, my Lord Conservator, quha was equall in consideration of that place to onie of the peares of the Law Countreys, quhilk could not denie thameselues.

The judges of the toun quhair my Lord Seatoun was halden captive, went togidder to consult upoun this mater; sum of thame thocht gude to demitt him ather to the Duke of Alva as he list, or to send him to the Conservator, to the effect he should be transportit with diligence in Scotland; uthris thocht that this counsall was gude, bot first that it should be expedient to put him to the proof of a torture without



harme, beleaving thairby he wald freely confes sum of his negotiatoun for fear of forder punishment, and that the fear of this should sumthing abaitt him of his stout stomake: bot althogh he was laid upoun the racke and his bodye extendit, his courage was na less for all that, and baid thame do gif thai durst.

The Scottis capitaines understanding of this apperand severitie to be vsit, and alreddye in practice as they thoght, subornit incontinent thair souldiors to be at thair comands. Imediatlye they past with a vote to the counsall, and desyrit that my Lords should incontinent be sett at libertie without onie skayth, utherwayes they wald all remove from thair seruice at that presente hour, quhairupoun it fell out that my Lord was demittit to pas quhair he list, and so escaipit that danger. Bot no forder proceedit in his negotiatoun for the King, nather could the King be induced againe to onie promeis of monie to be sent in Scotland, the seruice of his awin affaires grew sa hett in Flaunderis.



The regent, as he was returnit to Edinburgh, hade directit a servand of his callit Johnne Mein, with letters to the Queene of England. This Johnne hade private talking with diuers gentillmen of the Queene of Scotland's factioun, quha hade sent twa letters with him to hir Grace, the ane from the south of Scotland, the uther from the northe, wretten in cyphers, subscrivit be thrie score and fourtein persouns; and he was execute in Edinburgh the penult day of August 1570. And becaus Secretarie Lethingtoun hade changit his opinioun fra the Kings factioun to the Queenes againe, the regent thought gude to dispose him of that office, and dispoit the samen to Robert comendator of Dunfermyne.

Thir enormities in the countrey, as they were againes pollice and reasoun, sa Sathan, hade also possest the mynds of twa men to comitt the abominabill vyce of Sodomie within Edinburgh, for the quhilk they were punisht in this maner; first, they were detenit in prisoun for aucht dayes, upoun

bread and water, then they were placitt at the market place, with the inscriptioun of thair fault written on thair foirhead. Efter that they were placitt in kirke, to repent befoir the people thrie seuerall Sondayes : forthlie they were dukit in a deepe loche, ouer the head thrie seuerall tymes, and last of all thair bodies were consumit with fire to the death.

The King of Fraunce on the uthier pairt, remembered his dewtie for the Queene of Scotland, and sent in sum letters to the nobilitie of hir factioun, be sending bak againe of Monseour Verac to Dumbartoun be sea. And withall sent sum provisioun of bullettis and gun powder to the said castell, quhair he maid his residence for a lang tyme. And in the moneth of September, the regent, to congratulate all thinges done be the Earle Sussex, he sent the Justice Clerk and Mr Archibald Douglas unto him to talk of the stabilitie of the King and the regents estaittes.

As afoir I maid mentioun of the busines.

of Sathan, sa now was he not unquiet, for he had so intoxicate the heart and mynde of a famous preacher, callit Mr Johnne Kello, minister at Spot besyde Dunbar, that he spairit not to murderis his awin wyffe, a woman so loving of him and of his estaitte as onie woman could haue bein reportit to haue; fauorit and obeyed hir husband in all respectis: for he stranglit hir in his awin chalmer, and thairefter closit the ordinar durr that was within the hous, quhairby he maid his passage, and sa finelie seemit to culor that purpos after that he hade done it, that imediatlie he past to the kirk, and in presence of the people maid sermon as thogh he had done na sic thing. And quhen he returnit hame, he broght in sum nybour into his hous to vissie his wyfe, and callit at the ordinar durr without onie answeere maid unto him; then he past to another passage with the nybour, quhilk was found oppin, and shoe hinging straught at the bak. Then with admiratioun he cryed out as thogh he hade

knawin nathing of the purpois, and thai for pittie in lyke maner cryed out. Bot in end finding himself prickit with the judgementis of God, of the greevous punishment quhairwith transgressors haue bein plaigit in tyme bygaine, he thocht gude to comunique this fact to ane of his brither in office, quha then was schoolmaster at Dumbarr, to quhome he revealit the circumstance of a dreame quhilk he hade dreamit of a short tyme befor. The dreame was sa fullie interpret unto him, that thairby he receauit sick satisfactioun in mynde, and resolutioun in spirit, that he defferit na langer tyme with counsall and convoy of this wyse godlye man, that he imediatlie come to Edinburgh, and thair delaitit his turpitude to the judge criminall and certaine uther preachers, and how willing he was to suffer punishment thairfoir. Breeflie be his awin confessioun being clearly convict, he was condemnit to be hangit, and his bodye to be cassin in the fyre and brunt in ashes. And so he depairtit this lyfe with ane ex-



treme penitent and contreit heart, baith for this, and all uther his offences in generall, to the gude example and great comfort of all the beholderis, upoun the 4 of October 1570.

Efter this the Duke of Chattelarault, the Abbot of Kilwynning, my Lord Secretarie Lethingtoun, with his twa breether, the Prior of Coldinghame, and Mr Thomas Maitland, was denunciit rebell to the King, for noncompeirance befor the regent. Bot the Earle of Crawford, quha befor hade sa lang remainit of the Queenes factioun, maid his obedience to the regent in the King's name, and the Earle of Moirtoun was maid Sheriffe Principall of Edinburgh, and Constabull of Haldingtoun, be the foirfaulter of the Duke of Orknay, and imediatlie it was appointed be the Queene of England that na hostilitye should be usit be ather of the pairties against uther, directlie or indirectlie, to the xii day of Novembir nix to cum. Bot the regent wrought directlie in the contra-



rie, for first he directit his horsmen and futmen, to the number of thrie hundrethe, to pas to Hamiltoun, and thair to mak penny of the reddiest of the cornes, cattell, and uther guidis pertaining to my Lord Duke and uther gentillmen of his surname, and bring the samen to him with diligence, and sick lyke to the landis pertaining to the Secretarie Lethingtoun, and spulziet all for the utilitye of the said regent. And the Queene of England send in hir letters to the regent, desyring him, with certaine wyse men of Scotland, to repaire to Lundon to talk with hir and hir counsall of all debaittable materis concerning the Queene of Scotland. And quhen he had convenit sick nobillmen as he thocht expedient, they electit the Abbot of Dunfermylne to pass thair as ambassador to knaw of what points should be talkit on. And for the Queenes pairtt was chosen and sent the Bishop of Galloway, the Lordis Livingstoun and Boyd; and on the uther pairt were sent the Earle of Moirtoun and the

Lord Glamis, and ane taxatioun maid on the people to furnishe thair expenss's, availing the sowme of twell thowsand pundis money of this realme.

This forme of proceeding was still so ambiguous and doubtsum, that nather could the King of Fraunce perceave ony trew dealing in England for the Queene, nather by her favorirs in Scotland that he could perceave. Thairfoir, to try all matters how they went in a pairt, he sent aduertisement to all his customeris of the sea coists of Fraunce to arrest all and quhatsumeuer shippis of Scotland that were not fortified be the Queene of Scotland's coquett, and to confiscat thair guidis. On the uther pairt, the Queene of Scotland being frustrat of hir lang expectatioun, conceavit sa great greef of mynd, that deadlie sicknes followit thairon. Bot learnit men, weill experiment in physick, were sent for out of Fraunce, quha came unto hir, be quhois travells (and the providence of God) at last shoe convaliseit, bot no libertie ensewit for all that.

Amidds all thir turnes, the capitaine of the castell of Edinburgh was grown sa insolent, that he first directit certane of his dommestick servands to Leithe, of set purpois to kill ane Henrie Seatoun, quhilk crueltye when they hade accomplished, they bound to return to the castell ; be the way ane of thame, callit James Fleeming, was taken be the magistrattis of Edinburgh and put in preasoun thair. Bot that same night at the hour of supper, the capitaine directit furthe of the castell a resolute number of souldiors with sum gentillmen, all weill enarmit, quha cum to the said preasoun and violently brak up the same, and broght furthe the prisoner with thame, without ather resistance or impediment. And nyne short dayes thairefter were expyrit, he waidgit a hundrethe souldiors under the conduct of Capitaine James Meluill, and ludgit thame neir unto the castell, as alswa he cawsit mak fortificatioun within the hous, and gritt provissioun of wyne and uther necessers to be broght in, and sick lyke he

fortifiet the capitall steepill of Edinburgh with men of weire.

In this meane tyme the Hamiltounes hade woun the abbey of Paislay fra my Lord Sempill and his men, and the regent heiring of this, he addrest himself to Glasgou, and thair assemblit a number of gentillmen and souldiors for recouerie of that hous, quhilk within few dayes was randerit unto him and the men in his mercie.

Bot becaus he deferrit lang tyme in shawing thair of, the Hamiltouns directit sum euill to follow thairon. And thairfoir Lord Claud Hamiltoun unbeset the way with sum chosen men, and tuik sundrie prisoners that were cumand and gangand to and frae the regent, and pat thame in custodie within the castell of Draffen, to the end that they might haue beine a releef to the uther captives. And for all this, these of Paisley were brocht to Edinburgh, and upoun the comon gallows without the toun were all hangit.

As thir temporall lords were thus obsti-



nat againes the authoretie of the Queene, and these hir Lieutennents foirsaid in hir place : Sa was the spiritualite, quha al- maist haillilye hade conjoynit thair opini- ones with hir aduersars in sick sort, that thai were not only contentit priuelye to haue bein hir enemies, bot wald also de- vulgat thair myndis to the people.

For first, Johnne Knox, cheeff preacher at Edinburgh, at the end of his sermone being remarkit to haue prayit for diuers forraine princes, and for the young King of Scotland, hade omittit to pray for his ordinar princes Queene Marie, for the quhilk he was rebuikit be a wrytting affixt upoun his durr, and he not willing to ob- scure ather his will or witt in that mater, answerit publicklye in the kirke the next convenient sermone daye, that shoe nather was, is, or should be his Soveraine, and therefor he was not addebtit to pray for hir. Thairefter the haill ministry conve- nit, and thair it was concludit, that at na tyme cuming shoe should be prayit for as



unworthie of sick a benefeet, quhairin they constantlye perseuerit, that nather persuasioun or reasoun could induce thame to the contrarie.

The regent was alsua sua vigilant, that he pretermittit na occasiouns of victorie. That as the regent Murray was curious to haue obtenit the castell of Dumbar-toun be compositioun or slight, sa was he; for he exposit twa craftie explorators with sum souldiors priuie to sie how craftilie they might intercept that hous, and efter lang tyme spent, at last they found out ane Robesoun, quha hade some-tyme bein a watchman within the hous, and knew perfytelie all the passages thair-of, baith strenthie and weake. This man had alsua a sone in law, nae les experimentit within the hous nor himself. To these the Laird of Drumquhaissell and Capitane Crawford address thameselues, and with promeis of gritt rewarde, and something in hand, corruptit thame at last to shawe thame the best places of advantage, quhair they, with assistance of Capitane

Home with a hundrethe of his souldiors, clam the rocke of that castell with ladders and raipes till they came to the topp of the wall. The first man that entrit was ane Ramsay, bot at the first was a little repulsit by thrie watchmen, quha hade na uther thing to defend thameselues withal but stanes, and he be drawing of his sword at the first straike, strake ane of thame to the death, and imediatlie ane uther of Ramsay's followeris enterit the wall, and consequentlie the thrid, and so the rest, quha incontenent slew the uther watchmen. The wall quhilk they clam was sumthing auld and ruinous, so that be the frequent incumbering of the souldiors it fell, and fair braid passage was maid to the rest. Quhen they were all convenit they soundit the drum: a with loud voices cryed a Darnlie, a Darnlie! This great noyse of the drum perturbed the Lord Fleyming, capitaine of the castell, in sic sort from his morning sleepe, that almaist half naiked he was compellit to ryn aboit under the castell, and causit

himself to be transportit farr from that danger be the sea : Monseour Verac, ambassador for the king of Fraunce, Johnne Archbishop of Sanctandrois, and Johnne Fleyming of Boghall, were taken prisoneris and convoyit to the castell of Stirlie. The regent not being far off quhen the castell was wyn, the newes were sent to him with all possible haist, sa that for glaidnes he approachit and dynit thairin, with great ioy, that same day, at ten hor in the morning. The regent usit the Ladie of Fleyming verrie courteouslye, and sufferit hir to depairt with all hir claithes and siluer veshell at ease and leaser. This hapenit upoun the second day of Aprill 1571; and upoun the fyft day of that same moneth the Bishop of St Androis was accusit of these four pointes.

I. Inprimis, That he knew and was participant of King Henrie's murther.

II. Item, That he conspyrit againes the King's persoun at the murther of the first regent; intending to haue supprysit the cas-

tell of Stirline, and to haue bein maister thairof at his pleasure.

III. Item, That he knew or was participant of the murther of James Earle of Murray, last regent.

IV. Item, That he lay in waitt at the woode of Callender for the slaughter of Mathew Earle of Lennox, now regent.

As to the first, second, and last heads, he denyit thame constantlye, bot to the thrid head he answerit thus: That he not only knew thairof, and wald not stopp it, bot rather furtherit the deed thairof, quhilk he repentit, and askit God mercie for the same; and for tryall of the first head thair was a certane proof broght in againes him, and that was a priest callit Mr Thomas Robensoun, quha in his presence affirmit that ane Johnne Hamiltoun als Blakjohnne, sumtyme servand to the Bishop, befor his depairture callit upoun the said priest, to quhome, among uther articles, he confessit that he was present at the King's murther be comand of his maister, quhair of he



askit God's mercie, and desyrit the priest to pray for him. Bot the Bishop replyt, that the priest synit deadlie to ley upoun him quha knew nathing of mater, as also he synit to reveal anie confessioun. Alwayes the judge criminall gaue suddaine sentence againes him, that he should be hangit, quhilk was quicklie put in pruiſe, and this verse following affixit upoun the gibbet, maid be a rediculous envious poet in derisioun of the deed.

*Cresce diu felix arbor, semperque vireto,  
Frondebis, ut nobis talia poma feras.*

And that same nicht this uther verse, as ane antidot to the first, affixt upoun the kirk durr, and diuers uthers remarkabill pairts of the toun.

*Infelix pereas arbor, si forte virebis  
Inprimis utinam carminis author eris.*

Death remanit not lang unrevengit, as ye shall heir. For first the Earle of Huntlye



with diligence repairit to Edinburgh, efter him came Secrètarie Lethingtoun, Mon-seaour Verac ambassador for Fraunce, my Lord Claud Hamiltoun, my Lord Heries, and sundrie utheris.

During thir materis, the comissioneris for Queene Marie, and the comissioneris for the Regent, came all out of England, without onie midds of peace or tranquillity concludit amanges thame. This movet the capitane of the castell of Edinburgh to caus searche the comon hous of the toun, quhair he fand certane peeces of ordinance, pickes, and uther fencible weapounes, quhilk he apprehendit, and cawsit the same be transported to the castell. The commissioners for the Regent directit Capitane Home and Capitane Ramsay to Leith, to convocat numberis of wagit men, and to convoy thame to Dalkeith. Thir twa capitanes hade for thair convoy a hundreth and fourtie horsemen, and came out of Dalkeith upoun a Sonday, at ellevin hor before noone, be the eist port of the toun, of a

deliberat mynd to provok, pley, and debaitt. And be the way they shott in at the portis, baith in thair passage and retorne, and hurt diuers of the tounes folkes. The capitane of the castell perceaving this, he sent out twa hundreth souldiors to persew thame. Thair past furth at that tyme the Earle of Huntlye, my Lord Home, my Lord of Coldinghame, and my Lord of Kilwynning on horsbak, ilk ane of thir accompanyet with twa horsmen onlie. They fearciblye invadit the foirsaid capitanes at a pairt of the Burrow mure callit the Powburne; bot being fewer in number, were dung bak againe with great vigor to the port of the toun, kallit the Kirk of Feeld. The futemen pressit to stopp the retreat of the twa capitanes; bot diuers of thame were hurt, and they debaittit valiantlye at a part of the mure callit the Lowsie Law.

Heirefter the ciuill warres began, that euerie man drew him to a factioun, sum for the King, and utheris for the Queene, and these that fauorit the Queene's factioun

abode in Hamiltoun, and they for the Regent drew to Leith, with sick fortification as could be deveysit.

Thair sould ye haue sein almaist the sone againes the father, and the brother againes the brother, sum for meare defence of lawfull poweris, utheris for gaine, to espye quhat the aduersar were doing, to quhome he maid himselff sum-quhat familiar, and the inhabitants of the gude toun sa farr divydit in myndis, that the spairt not to cum againes uther in oppin hostilitie, as it hade bein againes ane forraine and auld enemye.

The Queene, for hir pairt, was not oblivious of her authoritie; for, first, she sent my Lord Boyd in Scotland, with comission to establishe a Lieutennent ane or twa in hir name, and efter him send the Laird of Gairntully to confirme the same. The Earle of Moirtoun perceaving sick messages fra Fraunce on the a pairt, and from England for the Queene of Scotland on the uther pairt, quhairby he es-

teemit his estate (as the original enemy to the Queene) to be in danger, he addressed himself to the Lord Boyd, quhair they met at Glencroce, for sum appointment to be concludit, tending to ane universall peace. And he, not willing to giue answer be himself in sa great mater, without the consent of utheris the Queene's fauorirs, he went to the castell of Edinburgh, and thair comunicat the Earle of Moir-toun's proposition unto thame. They gaue him sum articles quhilk they willit the Lords aduersars to the Queene to condescend unto, that were sa strict, that nayther the a pairtie wald fald to the uther, nor yet condescend to ony midds, as the Romanes did in sick dangerous tymes, bot caist all sa loose, as giff peace hade neuer bein in price.

Then the Duke of Chattelarault repairit to Edinburgh, accompanyet with thrie hundreth horsmen, and a hundreth hag-butteris. Eftir him came the Earle of Argyll, my Lord Arbroith, and my Lord



Boyd, and at that same tyme arrayvit furth of Fraunce Sir James Kirkaldye with tend thowsand crownes of gold, sum murtheriownes, corslettis, hagbuttis and wyne, quhilk was saffie convoyit from Leith to the castell be the horsmen and souldiours of the toun. With this gold were conduit horsemen and futemen in greater number than befor. The portes, passages, and walls of the toun were repaired and fortified, capitanes with thair garrisounes appointit to statioun places, the clerks and writters to the Lords of Sessioun compellit to rander the buicks of parliament unto thame, and all men that fauorit not the Queene comandit to reteere furth of the toun. Magistrats of the toun sick as fauorit the caus, were chosen. Johnne Knox preacher fled the toun, and reteerit to St. Androis. In his place preachit Alexander Bishopp of Galloway, uncle to George Earle of Huntlye, and uthers inferior administrat the sacrament of baptisme and mariage. Bot as for the supper of the



Lord, it was then out of seasoun, be resoun tranquillity was banisht the land, and violent dealing was maister of all.

On the uther pairt, the Regent come to Leith, accompanyit with James Earle of Moirtoun. Thairefter they concludit to hald a parliament in the Canongaitt, within the freedome of Edinburgh, at a place callit St Johnne's Croce; and fearing that the souldiers of the toune should cum furth and perturb thame, they fortifiet twa places, the ane at the Dow Craig, the uther at a hous perteing to ane Lawsoun in Leithwynd, and thair shott in violently at the eist port, and slew sundrie souldiers and inhabitants of the toun, quhilk lastit all the tyme of that parliament, quhairat were foirfaltit Secretarie Lethingtoun, Johnne Comendator of Col-dinghame his brother, and another brother callit Mr Thomas Maitland, Gawen comendator of Kilwynning, and Williame Hamiltoun sone to the Bishopp of St. Androis; and then depairted to Leithe,

Efter this, these of the toun sortit, and brunt diuers housses nar the toun walls, quhair thair enemeis resortit. And as the Regent and Earle of Moirtoun hade past out of Leithe toward Stirline, the trowpes of horsmen drew toward Corstorphen to haue fochin with thame; bot befor they could attaine to that place, the Regent was depairted; and thairfore they assailziēt Moirtoun, quha still gaue bak all that way till he came to Dalkeith. This was upoun the twentieth of Maij.

Then Moirtoun, for grief of this outsett, cawsit his men lye in the way to stopp all the victualles to be brocht in to the toun, and reft sundrie cariers baith of hors and laides, without any restitutioun; and for revenge of this, the horsmen and futemen sortit and marchit in order to Sheriffhall mure, intending to haue assailziet Moirtoun in Dalkeith, and to haue brunt the toun. Bot Moirtoun sortit with men and hors, and assailziet thame sa fearcely, that he gaue thame the repuls to the verrie marche of

the Burrowmure. Moirtoune's soldiours followit sa fast, that they were hard upoun the baks of the horsmen of Edinburgh, and they perceaving advantage turned, slew and hurt monie of thame, and last dang thame back upoun thair horsmen. At this conflict were taine the young Laird of Kirk-michaell, Andro Halieburton, and Robert Hepburne, with fyftie souldiors and four men slaine. Off the uther pairt, Capitaine Halkerstoun was prisoner, and uther thrie horsmen, and a souldier slaine. This conflict hade bein greater and of mair losse to Moirtoun, giff ather the weather hade bein fair, or the gun poulder haue seruit the souldiers of Edinburgh, as was destinat for ane of the capitanes of Edinburgh, callit James Meluill. As he was distributing the same to his men, ane of thame be chaunce hade a loose lunt, quhilk negligently fell out of his hand amang the great quantity of poulder, and brunt him and diuers utheris to the great terror of the rest, and that was the caus of thair suddaine sinder-ing.

The Queene of England, quha all this tyme preceeding seemit to shaw hirselff indifferent, and to be a composer of materis under cullour of detentioun of the Queene, and that shoe wald seeme to fauor hir caus better than the caus of her rebellis, shoe was sa instructit be the Lordis comissionars for the Regent, without onie great impediment, that willinglye shoe thocht it not fitt to send hir bak in hir countrey againe for monie respectis, and thairfore opinly declairit hirselff to be a profestemie to hir, hir actiones and faurors. To confirme this, shoe send in Sir Williame Drowrie, marshell of Barwick, to the Regent, and to the capitane of the castell of Edinburgh, to know of him whidder he held that castell on the Queene's name, or on the King and Regentis name. Giff on the Queene's name, he wald assure him, that the Queene of England wald be his extremeemie, and that perforce; and utherways, that shoe would be his friend. He answerit flatlie, that he acknawledgit the Queene's



authority to be only lawfull in Scotland. Then the Marshall declairit this answer to the Regent, and he send him bak againe to the castell, desyring him to rander the hous to him in the King's name, and he with all his conrsotis should be a pardonit for bypast offences, restoirit to thair rents and possessiounes againe, and should sort with bagg and baggage. This offer the capitane refuisit. The Marshall heiring this, consultit with Moirtoun, quhilk turnit greatlie to the prejudice of the capitane and the Queene's caus, as shall be manifestit shortlie. Heireftir all the inhabitants of Edinburgh that profest enmitie to the Queene, left thair awin housses and the toun, and past to Leithe, and erectit ane handsenzie of thair awin to invade the toun quhair they frielie dwelt, and was thair naturall birth place, nather intending to spair thair ordinar nybour or kyndlie kinsfolkes; and withall the preachors of the toun so haittit thair awin parochiners, quha newer declynit fra that established religi-



oun, na less nor they hade bein profest papistes, as in the awin place shall be shawin.

The Lordis of the Queene's factioun assemblit in Edinburgh for a parliament to be haldin in the moneth of Junii, to mak the Queene's authoritie as manifest as hir rebellis maid hir infamous. There was redd a supplicatioun directit from the Queene, making and mentioun ; that it was not unknowin to thame how she was maid captive be a certane of hir rebellious subjectis, and imprisonit by thame in the castell of Lochleven, quhairin shoe was then constrainit, for feare of her lyfe, to subscribe a comissioun for demitting of the crowne and authoritie royall in favour of hir sone an infant, the prince of Scotland. And being advertisit by Sr. Nicolas Throgmoirtoun that giff shoe did not the same shoe wald losse hir lyffe, hir Maiestie (to eshew thair rage) accomplished thair desyre. In consideration quhairoff, shoe desyrit the nobilitye thair presente to consider giff the comissioun than subscrivit be hir, and thairby erecting Mathew Earle of Lenox in hir place, was lawchfull or or-

derly done, or was according to the law of God, man, or nature; and giff the said Mathew Earle of Lennox was apt and able to gouerne this comounwealth, quha hade shawin his obedience to another forraine prince, and hade not dischargit him of the same, &c.

Eftir the reeding of the quhilk supplicatioun, the heads quhairoff being reassonit and voitted, it was fund by the estaittes foirsaid, that the Queene was compellit, for fear of hir lyfe, to subscriue the said comissioun; and thairfore decernit the samen, with all that followit or may follow thairupoun, to be of na avail, force nor effect from the beginning, and to ceas heireftir, and ordainit an act of parliament to be maid thairupoun, quhilk was publiclye proclamit at the mercat croce of Edinburgh the thirteenth of Junij, and thairwithall established hir authoritie, that all letters, coyne, proclamatiounes, and all materis of state, should be done in hir name; the religioun now established to haue cours, and to be reverenced with all

men ; the ministers to pray for the weillfare of the Queene and the Prince hir sone, and for the haill nobilitye. Bot befor this law was maid, the ministeris of Edinburgh not onlie hade desistit to pray for the Queene, bot alsua hade desistit ayther to preach or pray at all thair.

The Regent's factioun were makand all the preparatioun they could to fortifie thair caus, and warying thair men ; for Moirtoun hade conducet with ane Capitane Michael Weymes to bring him an hundrethe souldiors from Dundee ; and as he was cum in Fyf, the Lords of Edinburgh hade sick perfite intelligence thair of, that they directit Sr. James Kircaldie and Capitane Cullayne to persew thame on the sea, and for thair fortificatioun gaue them aucht scoir souldiours, a shipp, and four boittes. The Capitane hauing his hundreth men to haue landit at Leith, was unbesett be thir foirnamit with great defence, and persewing on ather pairt. Ane of the capitanes boittes was maid captiue, the uther escaipit. The prisoners were broght to the castell of E-

edinburgh saiffie ; bot or they could cum a-land, Moirtoun awaittit to haue bein avengit on thame, bot was weariet at last and depairted. The horsmen of the toun perceiving Moirtoun thus to attend, assailziet him, hurt sum of his companey, and chaisit himselff to Leith, quhair he remanit for certane dayes.

Moirtoun was sa comovit at this, that he awaittit still how to be avengit, and finding opportunitie, he marchit out of Leith accompaniet with all the Regentis souldiors, with a great number of his awin friends, and the Laird of Drumlangrig, he com to a place at Restalrig castell, callit the Halkhill, and thair pate his folkes in array in sight of the castell, to prouok the men of Edinburgh to cum furth. The allarum was incontinent soundit throw all. The toun horsmen and futemen came all to the portis in array. They ascendit a hill at the toune end, and came to a place callit the Quarrell Hoiles in sight of thair enemie, with twa feilding peeces of guns. Thair



was in the companie of Edinburgh the Earle of Huntlye, the Lord Home, the Lord Heries, the Lord of Paislay, the Lord Kilwinning, and the Lord Coldinghame. Sr. Williame Drowrie was in the field with Moirtoun that day, and desyrit that he might haue libertie to pas and speak with the Lordis of Edinburghe; and quhen he was cum unto thame, he desyrit thame to reteere hame, and to talk of peace. Bot the preede of thair mynds was so great, that they said and answerit, they would not depairt from the ground till Moirtoun should first giue place, quha first came to the feild to prouok the bargan. So quhen he was returnit to Moirtoun to show the caus and order of thair answeere, and withall hade espyit the order of the Lordis, and aduertisit Moirtoun thair of, he imediatlye brake at thame with a great noyse and shoutting, that befor he came to thame, they turnit bakks directlie upoun thair awin futemen, and ouer ran thame all, for onie resistance they could ayther



mak againes thame or their enemeis : he persewit thame euin to the eist port of the Canoungaitt. Be the way diuers were struckin to the ground and slaine. Amongis utheris persounes of renown, my Lord Kilwynning was ane ; and the number of twentie four souldiers. There were takin prisoners my Lord Home, Capitane Culayne, Alexander Bog ansenzie bearer to Capitane Daud Meluill, with his ansenzie and thrie scoir and ten souldiers, with sum horsmen and the twa feilding peeces. On Moirtoun's syde was slaine his new cum captaine, Michael Weymes, and a soldior only. This confflect fell upoun the twentie sixth Junij, on a Setterday, and for the euill succes thairof was callit the Blak Setterday be the people of Edinburghe. The Lord Home was imprisoned in the castell of Thamtalloun ; and as Drumlangrig was bound hame, he was unbeset be a gentillman callit Spence of Wormestoun, and broght peforce bak to Edinburgh with twa horsses, and was keepit captiue within

The Blake  
Setterday.

the castell. Thair was with him in company at this tyme, his sone and Apilgirth, quha were chaist to Leith; bot upoun the 25th of Julij, thair was interchange of thir twa maid with consent of all pairties at the gallowlee betuix Edinburghe and Leith; for the Lord Home was thair restored to the Lords of Edinburgh, and Drumlangrig to Moirtoun at Leith. Thairefter Sir William Drowrie addrest himselff to the toun and castell of Edinburgh, to intreat the Lords for peace. Bot that propositioun was na wayes than acceptabill unto thame, albeit they remanit not lang of that opinioun. The Regent and his Lords consultit, that the people of the contrey should cum quarterly, and attend upoun him in Leith to serue in the warres at all occasiouns offerit, notwithstanding of his wagit souldiours, and withall they repaired the auld fortificatiouns of that toun.

And as England was bissie to encourage the ane pairtie, sa was Fraunce for the uther; for in the moneth of Julij nixt,

Monseour Verac, ambassador for the King of Fraunce, was send in Scotland againe with letters to the Lordis of Edinburgh, and a letter to the Regent, desyring him to restoir the guidis aperteining to the King that was takin in the castell of Dumbarton. Thair was with him ane Johnne Chesholme, quha was sent in message for supplie, quhilk he obtenit. The Regent understanding of thair arryvell in the river of Forth, he directit sum boittes to man the schipp, to confiscat the guides, and to bring the passengers prisoneris to Leith. Johnne Chisholme befor hand was landit with a great sowme of gold, and hade delyuerit the samen to the Abbot of St. Columbs in keeping. The Lord Lindesay was directit to searche him on the land syd, and he was quicklie apprehendit. The ambassador was seasit upoun, and quicklie carriet perforce to Leith prisoner, without respect or reverence, all his wreitts tane from him, and himselff imprisonct. Thair was fund amang his wreitts a minut of the gold de-

lyuerit to Johnne Chisholme; and he being examinat, and the ticket shawin to confront him, he was boistit with toirtour unles he should tell quhair it was; sa that for feare he declairit, and the gold was gottin and delyuerit to the Regent. In the shipp was funden twa hundrethe hagbuttis, twa hundrethe corslettis, twa hundrethe murreownes, fyve hundrethe great bullettis, and sum salt peter to mak gun poulder. The ambassador was translaitit to St. Androis to remaine captiue thair; and the Regent imediatlie cawsit the graith gottin in the shipp to be transported be water to the castell of Stirling; bot be the way the boit was assailziet be the gentillman Spence of Wormestoun, the persounes being thairin were takin, the graith seizit upoun and broght to land, sa mikle as guidlie might be transported, and the rest was caissen to the sea ground.

The pride of Moirtoun was sa great, that he thocht the regent's mynde was sumthing alienat from him, and he suspectit the Laird of Drumquhassell to be the cause of this.



This gentillman was of a subtile spirit, and a countreyman to the regent, borne within the province of Lennox; and thairfoir to promoue himself he was deliberat to remoue that impediment be violence, and to kill him. The regent hearing of this, caw-sit the gentillman to be closlie keepit for a certane dayes; and Moirtoun, esteeming that he was reseruit in contempt of him, he decrettit to pas hame, and to leave the Regent's company altogidder. Bot the Regent finding him a man sa necessar for the caus, thought expedient to talk with him in that purpois, and refer all that matter to his own answere, and he desyrit Drumquhaisel so to be dischargit the court, that he should not be fund to cum neir the Regent be ten myllis, under a great pecuniall sowme. Quhat profite thir thrie obtenit of violence, the maner of thair ending shall declare heirefter. At this same tyme, Capitane Cullayne was hangit in Leith; and his death was haistit be Moirtoun, to the end he might the more freely



enjoy the fauor of his faire wyff; and a band of men of warre were placit in the palace of Halyrudhous, for stopping of passage to the toun of Edinburch. Thair capitane was callit Andro Mitchell.

In the moneth of August, thair was a parliament fencit in Edinburgh, to run for sick a space as should be thought expedient. And at that verrie same seasoun, another parliament was also fencit be the Regent in Stirline, on that same maner. In this moneth, great comuning was hade of peace, bot nathing concludit: And the Regent, finding equall forme of proceeding be baithe the parties in maters of common law, and the Queene's factioun still encreasing in Scotland, and of a mynd, and subsidie daylie arrayving unto thame, thought expedient to corrupt the Earle of Argyll and my Lord Boyd with great promisses, to alienat their mynds from the Queene; and as lucre is and hes bein the temptation of monie men, sa was shoe alswa the maistres of thir nobillmen's affec-

tiounes, and withdrew them from their wounted dewtie. And withall the Lordis of the Regentis pairt so assistit Argyll, that he was pairtit from his lawfull wyff, and adioynit himselff in mariage with a dochter of this Robert Lord Boydis, and ilk ane of thame obtaint a fatt benefeece in recompence of thair declyning. And as concerning the effaires of Edinburche and Leithe, they mustour almaist ilk day, in contempt of uther, with monie invasiones on ather syde. Capitane Hew Lawder was chosen to be Seriand Major of the futebands in Edinburgh. The rest of the capitanes were these; Arthor Hamiltoun, James Bruce, Dauid Meluill, and Gilbert Montgumrie. They hade under thair charge the number of fyve hundrethe men; and besides thir, there was a hundrethe horsmen in wage. The names of the capitanes at Leith were, Thomas Crawfuirde, David Home, Andro Lambie, Andro Mitchell, Johnne Chisholme, Walter Aikman, and Adame Fullartoun. Thir hade under thair charge se-

vin hundrethe futemen, and withall ane hundrethe light horsmen. Thrie of thir capitanes were directit to the Canogaite with thair bands, to witt, Crawford, Home, and Lambie, quhair they plantit thair souldiors on ather syde of the street nair the eist port of the toun; callit the Netherbow, to attend thair quietlie upoun aduertisement of the drum. The capitane devysit to caus bring in sum laides of meill and lyme to the mercat, and the conductor of the horss should be sum craftie souldior, that howsoone they were entrit the port, they should immediatelie cast the laides of the horsses in the verrie entrie, to close the passage, that the port should not be gottin closit. Bot as all thinges were reddy, thair hapenit a certane man, callit Thomas Barrie, messenger, to be walking in the street, and he perceaving ilk entrie of the closses in the Canongaitt to be stuft with men of warre, he came up softlie toward the port of the toun, dissembling all the waye that he sawe or perceavit thame, and aduertisit

Thomas  
Barrie,

the keeper of that port quietly, and he immediatlie, without one farder deliberatioun, closit the port, quhairby thos capitanes and thair souldiors were frustrat of thair interpryse. Thairefter, fearing least the lyk devyse had bein inventit for the West port, he addrest him thair be the lyke fyne; and quhen this purpois was divulgat to the Lordis, he was thankfullie rewardit as apertenit. And for remied of the lyk devyses to follow, they devysit a counter port within the auld port, verrie strong, and the entres was maid by a circuit, and at the foirfront thairof, that directly luikit to the auld port, were twa gunhoilles, quhairat were plantit twa peeces of ordinance. Thairefter Daud Spence of Wormistoun was directit to St. Androis, quhair he spak with Monseour Verac, ambassador, and convoyit him with diligence and saifty to the castell of Edinburch. Then parliamentis were haldin on baith sydes; the Regentis parliament was haldin at Stirline, and the Queene's was haldin in Edin-



burche. At the parliament in Stirline were foirfaltit Duke Hamiltoun with his sonnes, and all gentillmen of reputatioun of that clan that fauorit the Queene and hir caüs, the Earle of Huntlie and his friends, whais names were mair tedious then profitable to rehearse. And for recompence of this, the Lordis of Edinburghe procedit pari passu; and in thair parliament at that same seasoun they foirfaultit Mathew Earle of Lennox, the Earle of Moirtoun, and a number of utheris whose names are at length set down in uther places seuerally befoir. The king being convoyit to the parliament hous at Stirline, and set at the burd, he fortounit to espye a hoill in the burdclaith; and as young childer are alwayes unconstant and restles, he preast to attaine to the hoill with his finger, and desyrit of a Lord that sat nar him to know quhat hous that was; it was answerit, the parliament hous. Then, said he, this parliament hes a hoill into it. Quhidder God inspyrit the babe with prophecie at that tyme or not, I will not dis-

pute. Bot in verrie deed, the cheefe leader of that parliament was stoppit with sick a hoill within fyue dayes eftir this saying, that it conuoyit him even to the death; for, first, the souldiors of Edinburgh sa fearclie invadit the souldiers at Leithe, and faught with thame for the space of a haill day almaist till the night came on. And notwithstanding quhairof, they enterit the toun of Leith with sick furie, that sundry inhabitants, gentillmen and utheris, being wonderfullie terrifiet, they withdrew thameselues to the shore, crying and shoutting for boittes to resauie thame into for saiftie of thair lyues, with exclamatioune of promisses of great buddis and offeris, sum a hundrethe pounds, some fyftie, some twentie for a boitt. In the meane tyme, the haill futemen of Leith were drawin furth of Leith, and was almaist approacht to Edinburgh, crying, under night, God and the King! the watches of the toun heir-ing, ishewed out upoun thame with great force, and dang thame bake. The horsmen

Edinburgh, efter this thick ryding throw Leith, quhair they slew and hurt sundrie that were returning bak to the toun, and be the way espyit the souldiors of Leith dispersit out of order, they ran upoun thame, overran thame, slew thame, hurt thame, and tuik a number of thame prisoners. The coronel of the futemen, callit Mr James Hallyburtoun, was takin and cariet prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and wald haue bein hangit on the morne, giff the haill capitanes of Edinburgh had not intercedit for thame. Thair was takin with thame to the numbar of fyftie-a prisoners. Thair was slaine at this lang conflict twentie fyue persones only of these were of Leith. Off the pairtie of Edinburgh were takin, Frauncis Tennent, sum tyme Prouest of Edinburche, and utheris burgesses to the number of nynteen : thair was slaine to the number of ten or thairby. And becaus all things grew scant within Edinburgh for sustentatioun of man, the Laird of Howmains past furth to the

landis of the Byres perteing to the Lord Lindesay, and broght in thrie score kye and oxen to the toun.

The Lordis of Edinburgh finding this succes sa prosperous, and having a gude opinioun of thair manheid, thocht gude to prosecute the rest of thair fortune; and becaus at thair parliament the regent and his factioun were foirfaultit, they were deliberat to assailzie the toun of Stirline; to kill or lead away the regent and sa monie uther nobillmen as were thair profest enemies to Edinburgh, and thair to put end to thame according to the lawes, as the regent hade done with Bishopp Johnne Hamiltoun of befoir; and withall to tak up the esheitt guds of the said Lordis, in this manner following.

Upon thrid day of September; George Earle of Huntlie, Lord Claud Hamiltoun, the Laird of Bukcleuche, and the Laird of Wormistoun, with thrie hundrethe chosen horsmen, and fourscore chosen souldiors, past out of Edinburgh a six



hioris at euen, of purpois (as it were) to haue  
past to Jedburt to compose materis thair  
for behuife of the Laird of Phairnihirst.  
The leaders of the futemen were, George  
Bell, and George Calder. This Bell was a  
borne man in Stirline, and knew all the se-  
cret passages thairof. The Lordis with  
this convoy at first past a littell southward,  
sa lang as they were in sicht of the tounes  
folkes, and quhen they were out of sicht at  
the bak of a hill, they addrest thair iorney  
westward. They wrought on this way for  
secrecie, that thair interpryse should nather  
be devulgat in the toun nor outewith.  
So they merchit directlie to Stirline, all the  
souldiors weill mounted behind the hors-  
men, and arryvit thair at thrie hours in the  
morning, upoun the 4 of September. Bell  
for the first point of his office, designit to  
the Lordis all the ludgings in particular,  
and the stables. At the ludgings chosen  
men were plantit to ding up dures, and  
bring out prisoneris: in the street were  
plantit the futemen, quha shott indifferent-

lye at all thame quhom the ather saw luiking upoun thame, or that came in thair waye, in great number ; and all these shottis were sa deadlye, that few or nane escapit alyve that was sa hurt. Utheris were commandit to the stables, and thair they spuilziet the finest horss that could be hade, as a pairt of eschitt guidis of the foirfeitit Lordis, and drew thame all out at the eist port. Thridly, as ilk companye hade broken up durres depute unto thame, and extractit sick prisonereis as they thought convenient, and were all drawn in the streattis reddye to be led away, thair was twa impedimentis that hendrit this purpois. The first was the strang hous that Moirtoun was into, and his obstenacie to yield, quhairby they were compellit to put fyre in the hous, and this requyrit certane space of leiser and tint time. The uther impediment was gretter ; and that was be the societie of sum border men, quhais myndis at na tyme are ather martiall or bellicous, but only givin to rieff and spuil-

zie ; and they, not mindfull of honora-  
bill prisoneris, addrest thameselues to mer-  
cheand buithes and houss, quhilk they brak  
up and spuiziet ; so as quhen the nobill-  
men of Stirline, Regent, Moirtoun, and the  
rest were all in handis, and almaist convoy-  
it be thair leaders to the port, to haue  
mounted on horsback for thair easie con-  
voy, (and) the trumpet of retreat sound-  
ed, the borderers could not be abstractet  
from thair ordinar exercise ; quhairby it  
followit, that the gentillmen of the castell  
came furth enarmit with guns, and shott  
at these robberis, and pat thame to flight.  
The inhabitants of the toune assemblit fast  
in armour, and persewit the hail troupe  
sa furiously, that they were compellit to  
quytt thair preasoneris: and David Spence  
of Wormistoun, having the regent captiue  
be the arme, promising still to saiff him, at  
last Capitane Calder approached, and per-  
ceauing the victorie to decline from thame,  
he shott the regent, and so dispatcht him  
with a deadlye hurt; quhairat Wormistoun

was greedit, bot all for noght. The regentis fauorers followit fast, and perceauing him to bleed, and he crying still that he was slaine, they killed Wormistoun out of hand; quhairat the regent was als greedit. Thair was in Stirline at this parliament, conuenit with the regent and Moirtoun, the Earle of Argyll, the Earle of Cassillis, the Earle of Glencairne, the Earle of Eglington, the Earle of Montrois, the Earle of Buchan, the Lordis Ruthven, Glamis, Sempill, Ucheltree, Cathcart, and Methven, with uther barronnes of renowne and thair friends, almaist to the number of fyve thousand men or thairby. In end, the Edinburgh factioun were constraned ather to quitt thair preasoneris or ellis to die thair presentlie; for the quhilk caus they comandit their futemen to tak horss with expeditioun, and they horsit thameselues thairefter, and past away at laser without onie great skayth. Thair was slaine of thair pairtie six persounes onlie, and twentie six persounes taken prisoneris, quhair of



Balcleuche, Bell, and Calder, were for the maist remarkit. On the uther syde was slaine the regent, quha died that same day within twel hors after his hurt, Alexander Stewart of Garlies, younger, George Ruthven, brother to my Lord Ruthven, and twentie four uther gentlemen, to the number of xxxiiii persounes, that were deadlie shott, and neuer convalesscit againe.

This was the succes of sick a hardie interpryse; quhilk apperandlie wald haue bein better giff the haill companye hade bein of a magnanimitie martiall men as appertenit in this caise : and is maist worthie of memorie, that sa few in number, daylie coistit, invadit, and hurt in honor guidis and fame, (as ye may reed), bayth be, thair awin civill enemies at hame, and be forranieris introducit in the contrey for thair exterminion, (as is alreddy declarit, and shall be farder declarit heirefter), to haue cum sa far off from thair ordinar statioun on a night, bot refectioun ; and in the midds of thair wearines to haue invadit sick a strenthie toun, fur-

nished with nobills and gentillmen ; first to haue led thame captiue ; and next to haue sa violentlie debaittit thameselues againes the furious assault, slaine thair capitall enemie, the cheef ledder of the realme, and to haue returnit sa far off in honor and victorie, without onie persewing that followit thairupoun. So that for monie injuries they hade befoir ressauit at this regents hands, they esteemit thame all sufficientlie revengit be the slaughter of this sa worthie a persoun. And to conclude, this was that reckles worde of youthe pronouncit be the young infant the King, fulfillit to the great detriment of that caus for that tyme, and thairfoir was worthily callit be the vulgar people the Blak Parliament.

Bot befoir the regent depairted this lyfe, for the small laser he hade to speak in respect of the exceeding paine he sustenit of his hurt, it is necesser to mak mentioun thairof, and of the substance of it that he usit to the nobilitie, quhilk he cawsit immediatlie to be convenit in the castell for this

effect, to the end the posteritie may receauē  
sum instructioun thairby.

### THE EARLES NARRATIOUN.

It is not unknowin to your honors that  
my arryvill in Scotland was not of my own  
accord or wishing, bot rather of yours,  
quhome I supponit to fauor the revenge of  
my sone the laitt King his death and mur-  
ther, the weelfare of your naturall prince  
my névoy, and the tranquilitye of the es-  
tate of this comonweel to be purgit from  
wicked malifactiones and perturberis of  
the quietnes thairof. Ye know that for the  
mentenance of this honest caus of the  
King's I haue this day spent my blood;  
and now am at point to finish my last  
warldly tragedye. Quhairfoir I desire now  
all hairtlye to pray for me, and that ye  
will continew in that your wountit be-  
nevolence to his Majestie, and in my place  
to chuse a man fearing God, wyse and cir-  
cumspect, baith for the weillfare of the

The Earle  
of Lennox  
testament.

King and your awin standing, and that ye will be myndfull to recompence my trustie servandis, quha as yet haue receauit na benefeet at my hand. Farder I haue noght to say, bot prayes the Lord to be mercifull to my saull, that I may receaue pardoun for all my sinnes: and so I comitt you all in his eternall protectioun. Amen.

Quhen he hade thus endit, the Lordis thair presente thoght maist expedient to chuse another regent to succeed in his place befoir he were buiriet; and thairfore electit Johnne Earle of Marr upoun the 5 of September; quha first cawsit Bell and Calder to be publickly punisht, brokin upoun the roow, and thus pynit to the death. And thairefter he come to Leith, and thair he cawsit mak preparatioun for the seadging of Edinburgh. He cawsit nyne peece of ordinance great and small to be broght to the Cannongaitt, to haue assailziet the eist pairt of the toun; bot that place was not thoght commodious, quhairfore the guns were transportit to a faux-



burghe of the toun, callit Pleasance ; and thairfore they laid to thair batterie, quhilk began the tent day of September, and shott at a platfurme, quhilk was erectit upoun a hous head perteing to Adame Fullertoun. And perceauing that that labor did butt small profite, he cawsit shute at the toun wall the 17 ; quhilk was all bestowit that way to the number of fourteine scoir shott, and slappit the wall at twa pairties. Bot the grounds within were so weill fortified with ramperes and deepe seuches, that they durst not mak assault, althogh they lay at waitt for that purpois thrie dayes ; and being thus frustrat, the haill campe and ordinance reteerit to Leeth. Alwayes, this attemptat sa terrified a great number of Edinburgh inhabitants, that sum of thame reteerit to a pairt, and sum to another. And the Prouiest perceauing this, becaus thair was proclamatioun maid befoir, that all these quha fauorit the regent should remoue out of the toun, and quha wald assist the Queene should re-

maine, under the paine of confiscatioun of thair guidis; quhairfore he thocht, by this reasoun, he might lawfullie mak pray of thair gudes, as he did indeed. And on the uthir pairt the regent finding sum difficultie of the wyning of the toun be his small forces, with advyse of Moirtoun he send to England, desyring support of gunns and men to fortifie the caus, and to repres the King's rebels. And the walles of Edinburgh were repaired againe with diligence.

The Queenes Lieutennent Depute in the North, Adame Gordoun Auchindowne, was verrie vigilant in his function; for suppressing of quhom the Maister of Forbes was directit with the regent's commissioun. Bot at the first meeting, quhilk was on the 9 of October, Auchindowne obtenit sick victorie, that he slewe of the Forbes's ane hundrethe and twentie persouns, and lost verrie few of his awin. His brother, George Earle of Huntlie, send him sum supplie of men, efter this conflict, from Edinburgh, under the conduct of Sir

James Kirkaldie ; quha alsoone as he hade exonerat himselff of the souldiors to the Lieutennent, he saillet immediatlie fra Aberdeene to Flaunderis, and past in Fraunce to aduerties the King of the plaittis of England and Scotland, devyst to supprise the Queenes trew subiectis, and thairfore desyrit sum new supplie : quhat succes this iorney hade, remaines as yit to be declairit. In consideratioun of this, the regent directit Capitane Chesholme withe a hundrethe hagbutteris to supplie the Forbess's ; quhairby they thocht thameselues sa weill fortified, being assisted with another hundrethe hagbutteris under the conduct of an Capitane Wedderburne, and six hundrethe horsmen, they thocht it na difficultye to assailzie the Lieutennent againe. And he being in Aberdeene, understude perfectlye that they were alreddy past the bridge ; as they thocht they should haue interceptit him within the toun at uniwares : bot he, lyke a violent chiftane, having alwayes his men in reddynges, and per-

Field of  
Crabstaue.

pétuallic watching without to certifie the approach of the enimie, assemblit his men with frequent sound of trumpet and with the sound of drum at ane instant, and cam in sick order to a pairt callit the Crabstane ; quhair it was fochin furiously on bayth sydes for the space of ane houre, till at last the victorie inclynit to the Lieutennent, and the Forbess's put to sick a flight, that the persute endurit four mylles of lenthe. The Maister of Forbes was taken prisoner, with twa hundrethe of his horsmen ; and he lost be slaughter fyftein brave abill men of his clan, with Capitane Chisholme, and almaist the haill souldiors. Thair perishitt at this conflict the number of thrie hundrethe persouns. The Lieutennent lost on his syde the number of threttie, and thus endit. Bot quhat gloir and renowne he obtenit of thir twa victories, was all cassin doun by the infamy of the next attempt : for imediatlie efter this last conflict, he directit his souldiors to the castell of Towie, desyring the hous to be randerit unto him in the



Queenes name ; quhilk was obstinatlie re-  
fuisit be the ladye, with certane injurious  
words. And they being impatient, be the  
comand of their leader, Capitane Ker, fyre  
was put to the hous, quhair shoe, and the  
number of threttie seuen persounes, were  
cruellye brunt to the death without mersie.

The Lady  
Towie  
brunt.

The Laird Parbroith also, being a gentle-  
man fauorer of the Queene, wrought be sick  
slight, that he wan the castell of Bruchtie  
in the river of Tay, fra the hands of these  
that held it for the regent.

Bruchtie  
Craig winn.

The souldiors of Edinburgh being hun-  
gerit for scant of meatt and fire in the be-  
ginning of the cauld dayes approaching, as  
they were past furthe toward the Burrow-  
mure, the horsmen and futemen of Leith  
were lying at a wayt at the park of Hally-  
ruidhous ; and espying thame in the plaine  
fields, they set on thame, and tuik Capitane  
James Halkerstoun prisoner, and the num-  
ber of thrie scoir ten souldiours hurt and  
takin. On the uthir pairt Capitane Mit-  
chell, as he was ouer forward, was euill

hurt at the Kirk of Feild Porte, and takin prisoner. Thairefter the horsmen of Edinburgh cam within the fensible bounds of Leith, and tuik prisoneris, and slewe the obstinat persounes at pastyme that wald not be takin.

Lord Maxwell's handfasting.

At this tyme Johnne Lord Maxwell was contractit in marriage with ane sister of Archibald Earle of Angus. And Moirtoun hade provydit for ane bankett to haue bein maid in Dalkeith, for feasting of sum nobill and gentlemen to that handfasting. And as the wyne was kairtit in Leith to haue bein caried to Dalkeith, with stoir of venisoun and uther great provisioun, the same was sa notified to the people of Edinburgh, that thair horsmen sortit, apprehendit the same in the way, with sum siluer veshell, and broght the same saifly to Edinburgh.

The Earle of Moirtoun having sustenit this small lose, for recompence thair of, directit sum men of his to the lands perteing to the capitane of the castell of Edin-

burgh in Fyffe, quha brunt and distroyed all his coirnes and housses, to his great enorme lessioun. Bot the toun of Dalkeith, apperteining to Moirtoun, that same nyght sustenit and incurrit als mikle skayth for that interpryse, be burning and slaughter; quhilk was done upoun the 8 February 1571.

And befoir that moneth was endit, the Lord Ruthven was directit to the south, to annoy the Laird of Pherneherst and his friends; and as he was in his way, he interceptit some souldiours of Edinburgh, quha were directit to Jedburghe for his supplie. Thair leaderis were, Capitane Olyphant and Serjand Smyth. He maid thame prisoneris; bot upoun promeis that they should enter againe quhair they should be requyrit, he demittit thame; and within few dayes thairefter, he destroyed the biggings of Pherneherst, the coirnes, and all that he could be maister of; quhilk was sufficientlye revengit be the souldiors of Edinburgh, quha imediatlye efter the re-

port of the newes, addrest thameselues to certane lands of the Lordshipp of Dalkeith, quhair they destroyit the houss and corne be fyre, and in thair returne perceauit fyftie six horss passing from Dalkeith to Leethe laiddit with ail; they brak the barrellis and maid pray of the horss's, and withall broght unto Edinburghe mony key and oxen furth of that Lordshipp to supply their presente necessitie.

By this tyme my Lord Seatoun was returnit out of Flaunderis and cum to Edinburgh, and Moirtoun fearing least subsidie should haue cum fra that pairt to the Queenes fauoreris be his lang negociatioun, he assayit be all meanes ayther to get knawledge thairof, or ellis to distroy the messenger; and thairfore he intysit the Lord Lindesay to desire talking with the said Lord Seatoun; and the aduertisement being sent be Lindesay how willing he was to talk with him, he condescendit to sick tyme and place as should best please to Lindesay. Bot as he was cum furth



of Edinburgh simplie, not looking for onie fraud to be usit, he was aduertist credibly be the way, that thair was men lying in ambuscaid to haue trappit him, and thairfore he considerit suddainlye the danger, and resoluit to reteere back. Sa that appeirant meeting was dissoluit, as I haue told.

The Queene of England sent in hir ambassadours in Scotland; the ane Mr Randell, to mak residence with the Regent; and the uther Mr Carie, Marishall of Beruick, to talke with the capitane of the castell, and to insinuat himself in fauor as a privat friend to that caus, that he might in the meane tyme espye the fortificationes of the hous gif it were possible; and for this caus he was friely permittit to mak oft visitatiouns, quhilk the capitane efter repentit.

And as the horsmen of Edinburgh were still bissie, and awaitting upoun chances of victorie and revenge, they espyit the Lord of Coventoun ryding to Leith, and

brought him bak prisoner. There was found with him a ressonable gude purs of money pertaining to the Earle of Moirtoun, quhair with he intendit to haue payit his souldiors, bot was somewhat prevented this way be men of greiter mister than he hade for that tyme.

Thairefter, the parliament tyme of Leith approaching, the horsemen and futemen were come furth to prouok neir againes Edinburgh in thair compleet number. On the uther pairt they of the toun marchit furth in order of battell, still keeping their rankes within the priuiledges thair of, on the south side. Bot the horsemen of Leith, to mak a forder brauado, thocht meet to ryde about the toun and castell to shaue thameselues braue. And as they are rakeleslie cum to a place callit Brochtoun, and assemblit in a troupe, a great canon of the castell was shott amanges thame, quhair be chance a martiall nobillman, my Lord Methven, with seven uther horsemen, was killed ; bot befoir they went hame they past toward the toun myllis, and

brak thame all doune, to the end they should serue the inhabitants for na use, and also to depryve thame of victuallis, and withall pat in garrisounes of souldiers in the college kirk of Corstorphen, Reidhall, and Merchrestoun, Craigmillar, and all uther fencibill places and houss's, to empeshe all kynd of meat, and drink, fyre, and uther necessities to be broght in; and quhen any persounes were apprehended with onie thing carrying to Edinburgh, they broght to Leith, and thair they were ather condemnit to the gallous, or to be drownit, or to be brunt on the cheecke. On the uther pairt, the Lordis of Edinburche placed garrisounes in the castell of Nedrie Seatoun, at the castell of Blaknes, and the Peill of Livingstoun, and isheet out at diuers tymes, and gat diuers prayes of cornes and cattell, quhilk they sent to Edinburgh. Bot the Lordis of Leith howsoone they apprehendit any horsmen of Edinburgh, or souldiors that were takin in the feeld at faire weires, they were not

ransomit or interchangit according to the law of airmes, bot hangit without sentence or mercie. In cónsideratioun quhairof, the uther pairtie did the lyke with thair enemies souldiors, even in thair sight. And this continewit fra the sextein day of Au-prille, 1572, to the aucht day of Junij, that a law was maid by baith the pairties in the contrare.

The Duke of Alva at this tyme, be command of his prince, hade directit sum gold in Scotland be a Frenchman callit Sorvie, quhilk was convoyit to the castell of Edinburgh in a freare of fegges, be the moyan of Mr Archibald Dowglas, Persoun of Dunglas, and his servand Thomas Bynning, quha hade conspyrit the death of the Earle of Moirtoun ; for he hade comandit his servand to shute him with a pistoll, bot as he was about the accomplishment of his fact, his gun maid na service ; quhairfore the Persoun was wardit in the castell of Lochlevin, and the Marshall of Barùick maid procurement for the servand, and he was delyuerit unto him.



And notwithstanding of the great gouernament and credдите that Moirtoun hade in court, it was not, for all that, but certane pointes of envey in all estaittes, and name-ly in the kirk, and continewit sa unto the end. For a certane minister hapnit to affirme that he defendit ane uniust caus, and that he should repent quhen tyme should not permit: this minister was apprehendit and committit to prisoun; and being demandit, be whais comand, or at whais instigatioun or persuasioun, he awitt these wordes, he ansyrit that it was be persuasioun of na mortall creatour, bot only be instigatioun of the holy spirite. Bot Moirtoun not content with this answeare, causit put him to torture, quhairby he grew sa waike, that he could not steire from his bed; notwithstanding quhairof, he causit him to be borne to the gallous, quhair he was hangit to the death.

19 April,  
1572.

Thairefter it pleasit the counsall of the Lords at Edinburgh to direct sum souldiors to the northe, to Adame Gordoun;

and for thair saiff passage, directit thame to goe to the castell of Blaknes, thair to be shippit; and the people of Leith getting knowledge of this, directit sum horsmen to intercept them; and they, ouertaking the futemen, charget upoun thame; and the futemen perceauing that they hade na rescue nor advantage, were deliberat to rander. Bot the horsmen of Leith, eftir they were randerit in effect, and for security of thair obedience, hade denudit thame of thair weapons, they slew fyftein of the maist abill and strong men of thame: they hirit serjand Smyth, and maid a prisoner of the Lieutennent; the remanent they convoyit to Leith, quhair they were hangit without farder process: and this forme of dealing was callit the Dowglas Warres.

And the souldiours tain in Edinburgh were acquite with that same forme of lawe, in plane sight of thair enemies, baith be thame that were preasoneris afoire, and for these that were takin at a skirmishe at the new brigg besyd Edinburgh on the west

hand. And besyde all this, they dischargit the commissioners that were reteerit furth of the toun, and they creat new justiciars in their rowmes; and becaus fyre was seant within the toun, they kaist doune faire ludgings pertaining to enemies that hade left the toun, the defence thairof, and the caus of the prence, and pat the timber to the mercat to be sauld at the darrest price be the weyght. And sicklyke they ordainit ane officer, quha was callit be the vulgar people the Captane of the Chimnays, to pas to the houss of the fugatives to bring thame furth, ather upoun compositioun as they should be esteemit worthe, or ellis to be sauld in the mercat place. This extreme dealling of rigor on all handis bred sick terror in the heartis of sum neutrall people of Edinburgh, that sum of thame, quhat for feare of the plague of famine and pouertie, and quhat for feare of punishment, they withdrew thameselues to Leith, thinking to mak a forme of obedience to the Regent: bot Moirtoun cawsit

a proclamatioun to be maid in the contrarie, that they should all reteere thairfra, under the paine of deathe, thinking that they were only reteerit to be spyes.

Then the nobillmen and gentlemen of Edinburgh drew their forces toward Merchestoun, to winn it; bot it was sa stranglie keepit, that the souldiours of Edinburgh spoilziet the housse nair the great towre, and thairefter raisit fyre round about, that the smoke should compell thame to yeeld. Bot all was in vaine; for the men of Leith come furthe, and skailit that interpryse, and thairefter the men of Edinburgh raisit fyre at the Seynis of the Burrowmure.

The Queene of England pat the King of France and his courtiers in opinion, that giff unitie could be contracted betuix the subiectis of Scotland, shoe wald put the Queene at libertie, and reponn hir to hir awin place againe; bot as hir thocht and intentioun was in the purpois, sa were the negociators electit: That is to say, as they



esteemit baith littell of hir, of hir honor, of hir place, and of hir calling, sa, for hir, they directit sick men as were nayther of noble blude, nobill rank, nobill place, and nobill calling: And althogh the King of France hadedirectit his ambassadour Monseor La Crok to England, first desyring that the Queene should be set at freedome, and that shoe wald direct ane ambassadour of heirs to Scotland, conjunctlie with his ambassadour, to intreat peace amanges hirsubiectis; shoe electit na worthier a man for this purpois nor Sr. Williame Drowrie, marshall of Beruick, quha was the speciall instrument of the destructioun of the Queenes fauorers, as was efterward provit in effect. The Queene of England consentit to the a pairt of the petitioun, to send ane ambassador conjunct to Scotland for contracting of peace, althogh shoe meanit littell in that purpois in effect: Sa that Monseour La Crok for France, and the Marshall of Barwick for England, were sent hither heir in the moneth of Maij, and were receauit be

baith the pairties with great ioy. Thairefter, Monseour La Crok directit a trumpet to Edinburgh, desyring Monseour Verac, ambassador for Fraunce, to cum and talk with him ; quhilk was permittit be baith the pairties ; and they then past to Lestarg, quhair the ambassador of England remained ; and thairefter all thrie returnit to the castell of Edinburgh, quhair they conferrit lang with the Lordis upoun the XXI day of May for sum articles of peace, bot neuer concludit any midds. Quhairupoun it followit, that the ambassador returnit to Leith that night.

Bot the souldiors of Leithe, euen as thair maisters, hade na mynd of peace, bot trauellit to corrupt the garrisoun that lay at Nidrie Seatoun ; and in effect hade sa corruptit a perfite man, that he condescendit to let thame haue entres in the nyght, and a certane time was prefixt to this purpois. Bot he not willing to keep promies unto thame, aduerteist his capitane, and willit him to invent sum remied againe that

tyme; and the captane greatly praisit his souldiour quha thus hade done, and rewardit him condignely; and againe the distinat nyght, pat that same souldiour upoun the watche, and the capitane himself stude by him, with the haill companie in thair armour, sa as quhen the men of Leith, quha then lay at garisoune in Corstorphen, were cum furth from thair tents, looking for na uther thing bot, with ease of the expectit falsett, to haue ladderit and winn the hous, they were this way preuented. The capitane of Nedrie causit prepare certane gritt gests of aike, and caused thame to be measured according to the squire of the toure at all pairtes; quhilk were hung a littell ouer the wall, with reaps and cordes, that same night at euen, and were readilye prepaired at all pairtes. And quhen the enemye had put to thair ledderis, and callit on the man quha maid the promise, and he maid ansuer, they montit with the better will: the capten supponing the ledderis to be full, causit immediatlie the cords to

be cutt, quhairby the timber fell in sick weyght upoun the assailzeantis, that it crushett seventein of thame all in peeces, and lamit fyfteine. Thairefter the capitane ishett furth, and persewit the rest to Corstorphen ; bot thai escaipit with great speid of feet.

Then Moirtoun, as he was still equall with the Regentis, or ellis aboue thame in counsall and comandng, he cawsit print a new kind of money in his castell of Dalkeithe, of the price of half a merk and the half ; the same to haue course in the contrey, be the Regent's proclamatioun. And at this time was printed, in the castell of Edinburgh, certane especes of fyne siluer, availing 30, 20, and ten shillings the peece : these Moirtoun cawsit to be brokin doune, to mak up his new coyne of leyit money ; quhilk thairefter hade cours for a lang seasoun.

Thairefter Johnne Lord Fleyming returnit fra France with gude store of gold, for payment of souldiours fies. He came



to Edinburgh upoun the 26 of Junij; bot upoun the 5 of July he was be accident hurt in the knej be the shott of a hagbutt, that brak sum stanes of the calsey, quhilk reboundit againes him: and this hurt was sa deadlie, that he died thairof upoun the 5 of September nixt following.

In the moneth of Maij, the Earle of Northumberland was randerit to the Queene of England, furth of the castell of Lochlevin, be a certane conditioun maid betuix hir and the Earle of Moirtoun for gold; quhilk was thankfullie payit to Moirtoun befor that the prisoner was enterit within English ground, and he was behaidit at hame lyke a traitor. This was unthankfullie rememberit; for quhen Moirtoun was banisht from Scotland, he fand na sick kynd man in Ingland unto him as this Earle was. Bot how God payit him for his unthankfulness, shall be reported heirefter.

And the beginning of the next moneth, the grittest number of the souldiours of

Leith, baith horsmen and futemen, addrest thameselues the second tyme to the wyning of Wester Nidrie; and these of Edinburgh, to withdraw thame from that purpois, went to assaye the castell of Merchestoun, with some peeces of ordinance, quhairwith they pearcit the wallis thair of, at sundrie tymes; and the horsmen of Edinburgh in the meane tyme redd ouer the south fields peacibly, and broght in fourteen oxen. The futemen persewing the hous sa straitt with the guns, they enterit in talking to rander; and in the meane tyme thair came in thair syght a great companye of contreyemen, quha marvelit mair at the noyse of the guns in the faire feelds, then for ony intention they hade to impash ony great purpois: bot the souldiours of Edinburgh conceivit sick another opinion, that immediatlie they sent hame the guns, and went thameselues be a quiett way, to impish thair retreat; and come fordward their iorney in sight of Leith. The Regent perceaving this, ushe-

ed furthe with some small companye in  
thair faces, and withall hade sum uther of  
his horsemen lying at a syde passage of that  
same way, covertly ; and they spyng thair  
enemies, they chargit upoun thame sa furi-  
ously, that they compellit thame to mak  
thameselues lyght to escape the danger of  
death ; sa that thair weaponis were for  
the maist pairt cassin away at this chace ;  
15 burges men of Edinburgh were takin  
prisoneris, and led to Leith, and twa of  
Merchestoun souldiors brought to Edin-  
burgh.

And for all this, the garisoun of Nedrie  
Seaton hade prepared sum coirnes to be  
sent into Edinburgh, quhilk they saiflie  
convoyit ; bot at the bak cuming, the Laird  
of Collingtoun and the Laird of Currie-  
hill lay in waitt, and unbeset the cariers,  
and broght thame to Corstorphen, thair to  
remaine captiues. The Lord Seatoun heir-  
ing of this, montit on horsbak with certane  
chosen men, and came to Curriehill hous,  
broght him furth thairof perforce, and led

him preasoner to Nedrie, and be the way he encounterit uther fourtie horsmen pertein-  
ing to the Laird of Lochnoreis, quhilk nom-  
ber he led all with him, and laidit the hor-  
ses with coirnes to be caried in Edinburgh.  
Thairefter he demittit thame frielie to pas  
quhair they list, with thankes. And becaus  
the famine was so great within the toun,  
the souldiours ushed out sundrie tymes to  
certane rowmes weill provydit with coirnes,  
and broght the same in for payment.  
And becaus they hade sick store of gold  
in Edinburgh, and thought thair pairtie  
sufficientlye strang againes the Lordis of  
Leith, they directit capitane Wauchop with  
his band toward Aberdiene, be sea, to Adame  
Gordoun, Lieutennent in the north for the  
Queene, to supplie him in his addois. Bot  
the stoir of thair victualles being daylie  
scant, they directit, as afore, sum horsmen  
to scour the fields for viuers; and as they  
were bringand hame sum oxen, and uther  
comestable guides, the souldiours of Mer-  
chistoun intercepted thair voyage; and sum



horsmen of Leithe being abroad at that same tyme; came pricking toward the noyse of the hagbuttis: be that tyme the horsmen of Edinburgh were lightet on fute, and chargit upoun thair enemeis in sick sort, that they slewe thair cheef ledderis, ane of thame callit Patrick Home of Polwart, and the uther Home of the Heuche, with foure uther gentillmen, besyd monie utheris hurt at that conflict, and diuers preasoners takin. The great caus of this victorie was the suddaine supplie sent from Edinburgh, quhairby it fell out, that a on-lye horsman of Edinburgh was hurt, and a suddart slaine be a shute from the toun of Merchestoune; and this was done upon the penult day of Junij.

As thir materis fell prosperouslie furth of the south, sa were they also in the north; for Adame Gordoun, Lieutennent thair, efter he hade besedgit monie houss's of strenthe, and broght thair maisters under the Queene's obedience, ather be great compositioun, be severitie or perforce; at

the last, he was lying at the castell of Glenbervie in Mearnes, with a reasonable garrisoun of souldiours, and a fine trowpè of chosen horsmen, quhen aduertisement came unto him, that the Regent had directit sum nobillmen and gentillmen to stop him of forder doing, and to relieue the hous from assault. And he that nyght tuik deliberatioun with the barrounes in quhom he trusted ; quha thocht expedient, that rather he should assalzie thame before thai cum fordwart, then to lye thair attending thair cuming: and, to the effect he should accomplish this with the gritter secrecie, they thocht maist expedient that the haill fute-men should lye still about the hous, in thair trenches, and the horsmen to pas with himselff that same nyght, to be deuydit in twa. Then ilk gentillman was priuely commandit to haue his men in reddines montit, but sound of trumpet, that na aduertisement should be giuen to the hous of thair depairture, nather yet any discouragement to the souldiours. For this purpos was com-

municat to the capitanes secretlye ; so as quhen they were all convenit, on a faire nyght, and in a faire field far from the campe, it pleasit the Lieutennent to declare his purpois and intentioun unto thame ; and with all raid in the hie way toward Brechin, till thai came within twa myllis. Then he gaue command to thrie hundrethe horsmen to pas ye ouerway, and to cum in at the west end of the toun be a priuey furde ; and he, with the rest of the companye, should assailzie at the Brigg, and that way. Bot these that were directit away, nather went to the appointit place ; they fulfilled na command ; nor were euer sein againe in a companye ; and he thinking verily they hade fulfillit his command, maid him the more stoutely to assail. Upoun the north syd of Brechin, thair is a brigg, quhairat the Regentis folkes had placit sum watches ; bot they, fearing na euill nor invasioun, behait thameselues mair negligently nor becum thame of thair functioun. And quhen the

Lieutennents scuireors fand thame in sick estate, they enterit upoun thame softlie, and presentlie slewe thame : so that, befoir onie aduertisement could be giuen to the Lordis within Brechin, the Lieutennents trumpetis soundit with a great noyse at the porte ; that befoir they could perfetly be wakened, or draw to thair claithes or armour, they were the maist pairt haillily interceptit, 39 horsmen slaine, diuers hurt, and a great nomber of people takin preasoneris. - Thair was Robert Dowglas Earle of Buchan, Lieutennent for the Regent, chacit with 300 horsmen in his companie : thair were takin prisoneris 9 scoire and ten gentillmen or thairby. And this was done upoun the fyft day of July, a littill eftir middnyght.

Then he cawsit bring all the preasoneris befoir him, and spake unto thame on this manner. Gude contreyemen, ye know that all victorie lyes in the hand of God, to whais holy name be all laud, praise, and honor for euer. And albeit ye be now under the will of



your aduersar, yit rather mercie nor vengeance does becum a Christian. For albeit ye haue thir dayes by gane stubbornly resistit to the Queene's Maiestie's lawfull pouer, and me hir Lieutennent, I will not use onie seuerity againes you at this tyme, for onie euill example offerit unto me be the tyrannie usit be the Regent. But be ye contrare, I will offer you all humanitie that I may, provyding that fra this day furthe, ye will behaue yourselues as dewtieful subiects to the Queene, and neuer cum in the contrare: quhilk I beseek you to do, and promise this unto me, as ye will answer to God. And they all, with a joyful voyce and cheerful countenance, be halding up thair handis, promittit faithfullie to do that, and presentlie ilk ane of thame promittit to be gude for utheris, be thair subscriptiones then maid: and so he demittit thame freely.

Thairefter he cum toward the toun of Monrose, and pitched doune his campe in the syght of the toun. And the Magistrattis

fearing his invasioun, sent out twa honest men to enquire of him, quhat he meant to cum sa narr thair in warlyk manner ; and giff he intendit to do thame onie skayth or not. He ansrit, that he desirit simplie, that first they should acknowlege him as the Queene's Lieutennent be lettre patent, quhilk he than shew unto thame : Secondly, that thai should neuer oppon thameselues in word or deed againes the Queene's authoritie, but should fortifie and assist hir and hir Lieutennent with all thair might : Thridly, that for observing and acknowleging of thir promiess's, they should giue in some of thair burgess unto him to remaine with him as ostages : And last of all, becaus they hade offendit in tyme bygaine, that they should offer him a certane pecuniall sum in recompence of thair remissioun to be grauntit for the same.

The twa men acceptit the petitiounes verrie humlye as messengeris, and desyrit a saife convoy from the campe to the toune, that thai myght report the same to the

counsall, and thaireftir to bring anser. And quhen the magistrattis, with the assistance of thair counsall, hade redd and considerit the petitiounes, thai thocht gude, for ishewing of the imminent present danger, to accept of the Queene's authoritie; to desire the Lieutennent humblie and earnestlie that he wald not burden thame with hostages, seeing it was a thing not usit in this comonweill, and how difficill a thing it were for them to performe; seing na man wald willingly graunt thairunto, and to send thame bund, it should be thocht againes all Christian humanitie, quhilk they hopit his heart did abhorre; and thaireftir, in respect of the pouertie of the toun, that he wald nominat some small sowme unto thame, that might be collected but harme of the pure. Quhen thir answer were with all humilitie and reuerence presentit unto him with monie words of pittie and lamentatioun, he acceptit of thame in that same forme, and tauld thame quhat a sowme he requyrit, and this was quicklie broght unto him:

Quhairupoun he depairted with his campe toward Glenbervie againe.

The novallis of thir proceedings were caryed to the Regent; and he cuming northward, maid his proclamatiouns, willing all men to follow him: and they being obleist to the Queene's Lieutennent bot so laitlye of befoire, absentit thame selues at that tyme; quhilk was the cheef caus of his suddaine returne, quhairby the said Lieutennent triumphit as he list, without onie impediment. As alswa, in the southwest of Scotland, Lord Claud Hamiltoun being reft of his living and rentis be the Lord Semple, quha then possest the Abbay of Paisley with a strong hand, as he was upoun the 10 day of July, passing furth to haue reft sum pure tennentes, Lord Claud set on him, chaissit him bak, slew 42 of his souldiors, tuik 15 of thame as prisoneris, and thairefter layit men about the hous sa lang, till a grit power was cum forth of another pairt to persewe the Lord Semple.



As materis of hostillitye ran thus on all pairts, the Laird of Pherneherst also shew himself sum tyme severe againes the inhabitants of Jedburghe. For, in the moneth of Julii, he tuik ten of thame and hangit to the death ; and besyd all this, the provissioun that they hade collectit for to resist the winter cauld, he cawsit all to be brunt to ashes in the faire field. And that same moneth, as I haue oft repetit afore, the King of Fraunce was still willing of peace to haue bein concludit in Scotland, to the end that thairby the Queene myght the more easily be reponit in hir awin place againe. He directit his ambassador, Monseour La Crok, in Scotland, upoun the the XII day of July. In lyk maner, the Queene of England directit hir ambassador to talk of peace, bot not to that fyne that the uther did. Baith thair petitiounes were giuen in to the Regent, and to the Lordis of the castell. Baithe the pairties gaue ane uniforme anser, that as it should seeme best to the King of Fraunce, and to the

Queene of England to desire thame to doe, they should with all thair hartis performe the same. Off this anser the ambassadors were verrie glaid: and becaus the mater was of na small importance, and gritter than they thocht was effeerand for thair persounes, they sent ather of thame aduertisement heirof to thair awin parents. And because it wald be a lang seasoun, in respect of the sea passage, to get intelligence or anser from Fraunce, baithe the ambassadors concurrit togidder, and desyrit of the pairties to condescend to ane abstinence from all hostillity and warres, fra that day till the full accomplishment of the twa monethis, and that all men should frielie pas and repas betuix Edinburgh and Leith for that space; and in the meane tyme, that na man should be permittit to offend his nybour be deid or countenance, under the paine of death; quhilk was willingly grauntit and obeyit be thame bayth. The ambassador also requyrit all ordinances and great guns

placit upoun steeples, blokhouses, or uther pairtes in or about the toun, for defence thair of, should all be removit, in hope of greatt concord to en sew. The lyk was desyrit at Leith, and was presentlie performit on both sydes. And to the effect that their labor should not be obscurit, bot maid patent to all the subiects of Scotland, they concludit in these termes following.

We the nobillitye and uther subiectis of this realme of Scotland, at the instance and exhortatioun of the ambassador of the Maist Christiane King of Fraunce, and of the Queene of England, maid unto us for ourselues or assistairs, partakeris, and sick as depends on us, be the tennor heirof, promiseis an abstinence and cessatioun from hostilitye betuix us and our aduersars, that presentlie be in armes againes us, thair assistars, partakers, and sick as depends on thame; to begin this presente day, and endure quhil twa moneths be fullilye outrun; during the quhilk, we oblies us and promiesses, that with all securitie

The  
Abstinence.

the said abstinence from warre and cessation from hostility shall conteneu. And if it shal happin the nobilitye and estaittes of this realme to convein at onie pairt to aduise upoun general peace and gude order, to be taine for the countrey; that in that cais, they with thair full companies shall be in full suertie in thair cuming to the place, remaining, or returning thairfra, during the said space of twa moneths. And to the effect that sa gude and necessar a wark be not hinderit, we accord, that during the trewes and abstinence, twa, thrie, four or fyve, ma or fewer, of ather of the pairties, may communicat togidder in all suritie, in sick place as shall be agreed upoun, to oppin up the meanes for the mair facill atteening to a gude peace. And if it shall chaunce (quhilk God forbid) that the assemblie of the said nobillitye and estaittes, the peace and reconciliatioun may not be concludit, we, be the tennor heirof, for our pairts, referris the difference betuix us and our aduersars, to



the arbitrimēt of the maist Christian King of Fraunce, and to the Queene of England, and promiseis faythfullie, on our honour, to accept all conditions concerning the peace, quhilk thair maisteris shall propoun unto us; provyding that the persons following be subiect to the censure of law; whensoever they may be apprehendit, notwithstanding of this present abstinence: That is to say, James Earle Bothwell, Johnne Ormistoun of that Ilk, Patrik Hepburn of Beinstoun, Patrick Wilsoun, James Hamiltoun of Bothuelhauche, Johnne Hamiltoun his brother, with the haill theeues and brokin men inhabitors of borders, and heielands, disturbers of the public peace betuix this realme and Ingland, and oppressors of the peaceable subiectis of the realme; and we promise on our honor, that we shall couer nane of thair faultis, bot sick as hes bein directlie done in our querrell. And giff, during the abstinence, they shall happin to do wrang to anie man, we all consent that they be punisht as ap-

perteins, and sall seik na impunitie for thame for onie attempt done againes England, bot understands that they shall be anserable to the same, conforme to the lawes of the borders. And to the effect that the hail subjects of this realme may assure thameselues to be presently discharged of the burdene of ware, and may with the greater desire embrace peace quhen it shal please God to send it, We aggrie, that during the said abstinence, all the subjects of this realme, of quhatsoever qualitie and condition they be of (except before excepted), may friely and liberally resort and haunt, speake and convey togidder, over all the pairtes of this realme, untroubled, molested, or impished, ather in bodye or gudes, be word or deed, in the law or besyd the lawe; and takes our said aduersaries bearing armes againes us, thair assistants and partakers, and sick as depends on thame, mutuallie in our protection, consorting ane with another faithfullie, without all murmur, that may be done be the

ather of us, or ony that we promies for, or be ony of thame that be enemies to peace. Mourouer, we promitt to use all meynis of peace, to haue familiar comunicatioun and conversatioun ane with another, to the effect that the heartis of offenderis and offendit persounes may be molifiet, and inducit to forgett thinges that are alreddye bypast; and thairefter to acknawledge that we are members of a bodye, of a contrey, and naturall Scottismen, na comunicatioun shal be forbidden be ather of us to utheris, bot promitts libertie ouer all places, tounes, and boundis, quhaireuer it may be; provyding that the toun of Edinburgh, first of all, be set at libertie, and to be maid patent to euerie intrant; sa that na place thairof shal be fortified and withhalden with garisounes, saving the castell and fortress, that of auld, and befor the troubles; hes bein accustomed to be fortified and gairdit; that by this meane, all men and servandis, without feare of souldiours or violence, may freelye enter and dwell in

thair owne houss's as they pleas, induring the saids trewes and abstinence. And becaus manye pearsonis within this realme, during these troubles, are seasit upoun utheris lands, and the fruites thairof are presentlie to be collectit in, to the effect that na stopp or impediment of peace may enshew thairon, we accord and aggrie, that they wha hes the said landis shall not uplift the fruits and cornes thairof, bot shall leaue the samen stackitt in graynges, or upoun the fields, undisponit upoun onie way, quhill the end of the said abstinence. And for obseryving and fulfilling of all these articles aboue specifiet, we obleis us, upoun our faith and honor, and be our solemne aithes, to keep for ourselues, and to caus and compell all our adherentis to do the lyke. In witness quhairof, we haue subscriyvit the same with our handis, at Edinburgh and Leith, in presens of the ambassadours foirsaidis.

This was proclaimit in Edinburgh first, and then in Leithe, to the great ioy of all gude subiectis, and to the great releese and



comfort of many pure people, opprest with famine and exceeding scant. Bot althogh by the articles of this pacificatioun, the souldiours of ather pairtie were fullie dischargit, and the gouernor and capitane of Edinburgh fulfilled thair parties, and maid the toun patent, yit it pleasit the fugitiues of Edinburgh to giue example to utheris ; for upoun the morn they marchit from Leith with displayit bands to Edinburgh, and plantit a gairdhous at the comon scamells ; and the souldiours of Leith cam up in that same maner, and plantit another gairdhous at the kirk : they compellit the inhabitants of Edinburgh to lay all armor fra thame, althogh thameselues keepit swordis all the day lang during the abstinence, and behauit thameselues toward their nybours rather lyk unto comanderis and maisteris than ordinar citizens.

On the nixt day, viz. the first of August, the Regent and his Lordis came ryding to Edinburgh, and Duke Hamiltoun, with the Earle of Huntlie, Lieutenents for the Queene, depairted thairfra. And in the meane tyme,

sick tyrannie was usit againes the inhabitan-  
tis of Edinburgh, that fauorit the Queene,  
remanit within the toun, and keepit thair  
own houss's, that thai were so opprest  
againes gude conscience and againes the  
comon peace, that notwithstanding of the  
great straitnes, pouertie, scant, hunger, and  
famine, that they sustenit befor the peace,  
the haill garrisoun of the futemen of Leith  
were placit in honest men's housses, to be  
fedd and harberit upoun thair expenss's,  
as a farder testimonie of thair ordinar ma-  
lice usit againes the Queene, and the co-  
mon repose of the countrey in tyme by-  
gaine. Then the abstinence was concludit  
to contenew till the first day of Januar;  
and thairfore, in hope of compleet concord  
to continew, the ambassador of Fraunce, ef-  
ter that all thinges were so weill begun, he  
with fauor of both pairties, returnit hame.

Thairefter the nobillitye convenit in E-  
dinburgh, and thair, upoun the xxvij. day  
of September, quhair all debetable ma-  
teris were ressonit upoun. Bot as I told  
you afore the nature of the Earle of Moir-

toun; that he wald not be second unto the regent, sa now his mynd from unitye and peace was so declynit, as be the effects upoun his pairt, shall be forder declairit. For albeit the Lordis of the Queenes faction, quha then remanit within the castell for thameselfs, and the capitaine for himself, gaue in thir articles following, quhairunto the regent wald haue willinglye haue condescendit; bot be the contrarie, Moirtoun not only be himself refuisit, bot intysit all the rest of the counsall to dissasent thairunto: quhairupoun it followit, that the regent (being a man of a meike and humane nature, inclynit to all kind of quietnes and modestie) conceavit sick greef of mynd, that he decreittit na langer to remaine in Edinburgh, and thairfore depairted to Stirlie, quhair he died the xvij day of October, to the great displeasure of all the gude men of Scotland, and left the keeping of the King's persoun, and the castell, to his brother, Alexander Erskine, and to the Laird of Tullybardine. Efter him dyed Johnne Knox in that same moneth. Bot

Moirtown so handlit the mater, that he buddit Tullybardin with the office of the Comptroller, and thairefter maid him to renounce his pairt ; and thairefter so handlit Alexander Erskine, to haue debarrit him and all the hous of Marr fra that office, as is odious to reherse; quhilk shal be sufficientlie declarit in the owne place, to the quhilk I remitt yow with patience.

THE ARTICLES ARE THESE.

All the personnes principallis now remaining within the castell, for thameselues, the captens quha haue seruit, and now serues, thair souldiors, and all utheris quha haue taine pairte with thame, deseyris, that be a declaratour in parliament, they may be dischargit of all crymes comittit be thame, or onie of thame, sen ye beginning of the troubles ; and that all actis, decreetis, sentences, or quhatsomeuer proces led againes thame, ather in parliament, in secret counsall, befor the iustice generall or his deputtis and befor onie uther judges, to



be declarit null, and of na effect; and all wryttings maid thairanent to be cancellit and obliterated, and that to be retreattit presentlie, that they may be enterit to thair rowmes, heritages, and possessiones; and that na persoun or persouns injure or sclaunder thame for onie caus or occasion by-gane, under the paine of death.

Item, The Capitane desyres to mak compt and restitutioun of all the princely jewellis, and uther moueable gudis delevyrit unto him at the acceptatioun of the hous, ather to the Queenes Lieutenentes, or sick uther persoun or persounes as the nobilitie now assemblit shall decerne, and that he may haue a sufficiente dischairge thairupoun be act of parliament; as also a dischairge of the guides of the people of Edinburgh putt thair in custodie, provyding they craue restitutioun within a moneth.

Item, They desire that the castell of Blaknes, with sufficient ordinance, be given in keiping to some condigne man of thair companie, be consent of baith pair-

ties, togidder with the rente annexet thairunto.

Item, That the aires of the Lord Fleeming, the Laird of Wormistoun, and utherris that were slaine, and depairted the lyffe in the Queenes caus, may enter to thair heretages and rowmes as thogh they hade neuer bein foirfaultit.

Item, That the castellis of Home, and Falscastell, with the landis and maines thairrof, be restoired to my Lord Home, and the abbay of Coldinghame, with houss's, graynges, maynes, and all uther pertinentis, be restored to Johnne Maitland, priour thairrof, and that the Queene of England shall promeis to mentein and defend thame thairin.

Item, The capitane desires, in respect he has contractit great debtis in thir warres, that he may haue the sum of twentie thousand merks allowit to him for payment thairrof.

Item, The Capitane desires that my Lord Morton shall resigne the superio-

ritye of the landis of Grange, and uther landis annixit thairto, in the King's handis, to be hauldin of the crowne at all tyme to come.

Item, The Capitane desires, that ane of his gentillmen may haue licence to pas in England, to speak with the Queene of Scotland.

Item, The Lordis within the castell desires the hous to be consignit in the hands of the Earle of Rothés, with the haill furnishing and rent apperteining thairto, and that licence and pasport may be grauntit to thame to repaire to Fraunce, or to sick uther pairt from Scotland as they shall think maist convenient. And that the Earle of Rothés may be sourtie for accomplishment of all thir promiss's.

Quhat the refusall of thir articles wroght, I haue told you in a part ; and the uther was, that becaus amang all the factioun that resistit the Queene, thair was fund na man sa abill, for ambitioun and freindshipp,

Morton  
Regent.

to double out the caus againes hir, and for himself and thame quha were hir enemies, as quha he was, he was chosen to succeed in place of the last regent; and as he might haue bein the first for his factious dealing, and his continewence in guyding, comanding, and counsalling all thame quha were surrogaitt to be regentis befor him, sa was he also the last in order and number. And sick thankfull seruice as he did to his young King, rather for malice he bure to the mother, nor for onie fauor that he at onie tyme utterit toward the sone, saving only that he wald haue hade his persoun als mikle thrall to his affectionis within Scotland, as he hade his mother thrall to the imprisonment of England, for his impunitye of former traspas's; ye shall know how he was recompencit be that same prince, to quhom he pretendit to haue done best and maist thankfull seruice; yea even for that same verrie fault that he himself accusit the Queene of Scotland of, in oppin audience at the counsall of England.



Alwayes at the entrance of his office he become seik, and Secretarie Lethingtoun getting knowledge thair of, directit a letter unto him for freindshipp, becaus, quhen he was in great credence at court with the Queene, he shew himself the regentis maist speciall freind, and thairfor it is maist requisite now to haue a meetting. The regent ansyrit, that quhat gude he had shawin to him then, it was recompencit lang syne, bot to shew him freindshipp now, he could not, becaus he fand him unworthie.

And the Queene of England for hir pairt sent in Mr Killingraue to Scotland, to requyre the Lordis of the Queenes faction for a further abstienence; and becaus Monseour La Crok was befor departit hame, and my Lord Home, the capiten of the castell of Edinburgh, with some utheris, were withdrawn be Secretarie Lethingtoun from peace, belieuing that the Earle of Moirtoun was not abill to annoy thame, thair fell out sick a diuision a-

mong thame, that albeit the nobill Lordis befor nominat, quha reteerit from Edinburgh, hade requyrit for peace, they of the castell wald not condescend.

The ambassadour reportit this forme of ansyr, first to the regent, and consequentlie to the Queene of England; and the regent wald na wayes condescend to farder abstinence without a simple demissioun of the castell of Edinburgh in his hands; and this was alluterly refuisit be the capitane. Quhairupoun it followit, that my Lord Lindesay, a suppost fauoror of him, quha purposely was creat proueist of Edinburgh, was moved to comand, that a fortres and bulwarke should be erectit befor the face of the tolbuthe that looked to the castell, in the straitt passage foirnent the goldsmyths shopp, to be as a defiance againes all shottes of the castell that could annoy the place of iustice; and sick lyke, another was erectit in the straitt passage foirnent the north durr of the capitall kirk, for saiftie of thame that should either enter to

the kirk for deuotioun, or to the tolbuthe for obtaining of ryght, or for the defence of wrang. And the abstinence being at this tyme outrunn, and the Capten perceauing these defiances laid againes him, and a garrisoun of men of ware laid at the west pairt of Edinburgh, to stopp all kynd of vi-veris to cum to the hous, as also to stopp the ishee and entrie, he on the uther pairt declairit his defiance on the morne, be shutting of sum cannons down in the toun, directlie againes a new fish market; quhair-by a man was slaine, diuers hurt, and the fishes blowne so hiche in the air, that they were sein upoun the tops of hiche houss's, and sum of thame to fall in the striets, in great abundance. Heirby the ambassadour was moued to depairt hame, and Sir James Balfour remoued from the castell to seeke peace, quhilk was grauntit be the regent in sick sort, that he was presentlie restoired to his haill houss's and rentis that he possessed of befor.

And the Capitane perceauing this strait-

nes, made a proclamatioun on the castell wall, commanding all the Queenes trew subiectis to pas from the toun, or ellis to reteere thame quietlie in thair awin habitatiouns ; sicklyke comandig hir rebellis to depairt from the toun within 3 dayes, under the paine of danger that might enshew. The regent, on the uther pairt, perceauing that the maist potent Lordis of the Queenes factioun hade peciablye subiected thameselues to the King of Fraunce and Queene of England's arbitrimēt, and they not willing onie wayes to declýne from the common peace, he first comandit that na man should injure another be word or deid, for onie occasioun that hes bein in thir tymes of troubles, sen the death of King Henrie to that presente day, under the paine of death : Secondly, proclimit ane parliament, first for the benefeete of all the Queenes fauorers, that they should be restorid to the Kings peace, and remittit for all bygane offences that they haue committit be the Queenes seruice ; as, on the



uther pairt, for punishment and utter exterminion of these quha wald not be pairticipant of that peace : quhairby succedit sa greatt accidentis, and so contrarious in the self, that I think the lyk has not bein wrettin of thir monie yeares befoir ; to the consideration quhairof, according to the event of the consequences, I remitt yow.

Bot before the articles of peace were proponit, thair fell out a small accident worthe of memory, that giff the same hade taine gude event, I think the peace should not so suddainlye haue bein contractit. For I told you afore how Sir James Kirkaldye was directit to Fraunce, and he remanit sa lang thair, that be permissioun of the Queene of Scotland, and fauor of the King of Fraunce, he obtenit a haill yeirs profite of hir drowrie, quhilk he broght saifelye unto the castell of Blaknes, upoun the xxvi day of Januar : bot the capitane gaue up the hous in the handis of the regent, and also all the gold that was broght out of Fraunce, and Sir James comandit to be

emprisoned thair. Yet howsoone the capitane was past furth out of the hous, Sir James subbornit the souldiours to possess the hous for him, quhilk they did upoun promeis of reward, and layd handis first upoun the capitanes brother, and all the rest of the gentillmen, and band thame in yrons; thaireftir isheed out upoun the people of the contrey, and broght in cornes and uther prouisioun for sustentatioun of man, thairby intending to haue keepit the hous be strang hand. Bot the regent devysit a subtillitye in the contrair, and persuadit Sir James his awin wyfe to betray him; quhilk shoe did upoun the tent day of Februar thairefter, and came thair to vessie him; bot quhen shoe was willing to returne, shoe could not content unless he with his souldiours should convoy hir a peece of the way from the hous, alledging that Capten Lambie was lyand in the way to spoill hir. Bot that capten was so forseine of this stratagem, that he knew weill that Sir James should be trained furth, and thairfore he

lay at the bak of a hill narr the castell, behaulding the tyme; sa that howsoone he espyit Sir James to be remouit from the hous, he then immediately approached with his souldiours; and as Sir James was cum bak, thinking of na impediment bot to haue saiflye returnit to the castell, as he cam furth, he fell in the handis of Capten Lambie perforce, and was led preasoner to the pallace of Lynlythgow, quhair he remanit till it pleasit the regent to caus him be transported to Dalkeith.

Within twa days thairefter, the capten of the castell of Edinburgh causit a great distructioun to be executt againes the toun; for in the night he exposit, at the hor of supper, sum of his souldiors to sum thak housses besyd the West Port, in a windie nyght, and pat the same in fyre. This fyre so ragit eistward, that it extendit the self foirnent a chappel callit the Magdalene: and in the meane tyme, to the effect na impediment should be maid thairunto, he cawsit ditashe sum cannons in face of the fyre, to terifie the

people to approach. This causeles cruel-tye wrought na gude effect in the end ; for baith people that fauorit him afoir, and these quha were his perpetuall enemies, sa cryit out with maledictiones, that he was saiff fra na man's cursing.

The regent ceasit not, in the meane tyme, to trauell with Duke Hamiltoun, the Earle of Huntlie, the Earle of Argyll, and utheris of the Queenes fauoreris : and becaus Duke Hamiltoun was then growin auld, seeklie, and waik, and impotent to trauell, he directit furth his sone Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, then Abbot of Airbrothe, with sum utheris wyse men of the clan of Hamiltouns in his companye, to consult with the rest of the Lordis upoun articles of peace. And be all thair consentis the toun of Perth was nominat to convein into. Thair came for the regent certane comissioners with full power to conclude in all materis of peace ; and himself promeist to be at Aberdour to attend upoun their returne, and perfite conclu-



sioun, as he did in effect. The sowme quhairof, to the beniefeete of the posteritie, I haue thoght gude to insert.

At Perth, the twentie thrie day of Februaire, 1572, the noble and mightie Lordis underwrettin, they are to say, Archibald Earle of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, Chauncellar and Justice Generall of this realm, Johnne Earle of Montros, Lord Grahame, Williame Lord Ruthven, Thesaurer to our Soueran Lord, Robert Lord Boyd, Robert Commendator of Dunfermline, his hienes Secretar, and Sir Johnne Ballengden Auchnoul knyght, Justice Clerk to his majesty, comisionaries to his hienes, to the effect underwrettin, speciallye constitutt on the a pairt: And George Earle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun and Badyenogh, himself, his kinn, friendis, and partakeris now presently depending on him, and Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, Commendator of the Abbay of Arbroithe for himself, and takand the burden on him for Lord Claud

Pacifica-  
tioun.

Hamiltoun, his brother, and all utheris the kin, freinds, and servandis and partakeris now depending properlie on the Duke, his grace of Chattelarault, thair father, and the hous of Hamiltoun; being convenit for treatting and communing of the common troubles and ciuill warres now presentely in the realme, sa lang continewing thairin to the displesure of God, the decay and danger of the religion, the hurt and prejudice of our Souerane Lords auctority royall, and to the confusioun of the lawes, pollicy, and haill estate of this comonwealth; hauing heirto the eirnest motioun and sollicitatioun of the Queenes majestie of England, narrest princes in the world to his hienes, bayth be blude and habitatioun, maid in hir hiènes behalf be the ryght worshippfull Mr Henrie Killingraue, hir majesties ambassadour: Eftir mature deliberatioun, and avysment to the pleasure of Almighty God, (quha is the God of peace) the relligioun of Jesus Christ, and of the Royall persoun and auctoritie of our Soue-

raine Lord, and comon peace and quitnes of this realme, are convenit, concordit, and agriet, as eftir followes.

First, That all and quhatsumeuer per-sounes quha wald clame the benefeet of this pacificatioun, to be in our Soueraine Lords fauor, to haue his pardoun to be grauntit unto thame, sall acknowledge and profes the relligioun now publickly preachit and professit within the realm, established be lawis and actes of parliament, the first yeir of our Souerane Lordis regne; and shall, to the uttermost of their poweris, mentaine and assist the preachers and professors thair of againes all the gainestanderis of the same, of quhatsumeuer natioun, estate, or degree they be, that hes assistit, or does assist, to set forewart the decrees of the counsall of Trent, (callit the League) maid againes the preachers and professors of the evangell.

Item, That the Earle of Huntlie, and Lord Johnn Hamiltoun, for thameselues and utheris their dependeris, now submitting thame to the King's obedience, and

acknowledging the gouvernement of James Earle of Moirtoun, now Regent, or onie uthir Regentis to be lawfullie callit during his hienes minoritie, for thameselues, their aires, and successours, presentlie and all tyme cuming, shall recognosce his hienes auctoritie and regement foirsaid, and shall acknowledge thame to be his debtfull subiectis be aithes and subscriptiones.

Item, They graunt and confes that all thinges done, assistit unto be thame in name of onie uther auctoritie nor the King's, sen his coronatioun, againes onie that profest his majesties obedience for the tyme, hes bein unlawfull, and is of na strenthe, force, nor effect, and shall haue na executioun, for any tyme bygaines or to cum.

Item, That it shall be statute and ordainit be ane act of parliament, that na subiect of this realme shall ony way be thameselues assist, fortifie, supplie, and shaw fauor to ony of the subiectis of this realme, or ony strangeris quha shall priuely or oppinly practize onie treasonable fact



againes the religioun foirsaid, the royal auctoritie and persoun of our Souerane Lord, and this present Regent, in tyme cuming, under the pain of law : And quha does in the contrarie, and resists not the attempts that shal happin to be comittit, to the uttermost of thair power, that the remissionis and pardounes presentlie grauntit, or to be grauntit, shall be of na availl, and the benefeete of the pacificatioun shall not serue nor be extendit to thair fauor heirefter.

Item, that all persounes dissposest during the troubles shal be presentlie repossess to thair housses, rentis, benefices, landis, tak and cornes, as alsua to all gudes mouable, except horss and armor : And for executioun thair of, the King's lettres shall be directit againes the deteeners, to restore the awners within six hours eftir the charge, under the paine of treasoun.

Item, that the castell of Spynie be randerit to the Regent within fyfteine dayes efter it be requyred.

Item, that the Maister of Forbes, James Glen of Bar, with his sone, and all utheris preasoneris in the possessioun of Adame Gordoun, brother to my Lord Huntlie, be presentlie, with all possible diligence eftir the publicatioun of this pacificatioun, set at libertie; and that the Lord Sempill's band, and all uthir bands for entrie of prisoneris, or bands or pomeises for payment of ransome, in ony tyme bygaine preceeding the date heiroyf, be frielie dishargit be virtew of this present pacificatioun.

Item, It is concludit, that the Earle of Montros, the Lord Glamis, and Sr. Johnne Wishett of Pitarro, knyght, coniunctly, shal be judges for restitutioun of all gudes reft or spulziet, be virtue of thir troubles, benorth the Watter of Forth; and that according to the sempill auaill, prouiding it be crauet within yeir and day eftir the publicatioun of thir articles of pacificatioun; and that the lyk materis on the south syde of Forth be judged be the Lord Boyd, Marr, Comendater of Newbattell,

and the Justice Clerk, and that na uthir judges shall haue power to cognosce in these materis ; and in cas it shal happin that the nominat judges will not accept of this office, that utheris shal be chosen and electit in thair place.

Item, that the Earle of Huntlie, and Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, shall presentlie dischaarge thair souldiours, that ilk man may returne to his awin dwelling peciably, and without impediment.

And for the better assurance of the persounes now returning to our Soverane Lord's obedience, and for obsyruatioun of the conditions aboue specifyit, pledges hes bein requyrit of thame ; as also cautioners and souerties, to be bund with thameselues for thair dewtifull obedience in tyme cuming ; the said Earle of Huntlie, and Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, hes, at the sute and request of the Queene of England's ambassador foirsaid, referrit thameselff in the will and discretioun of the Regent, for the entrie and delyuerance of the said pledges,

under sick paines as the Regent shall reasonably prescryve.

In respect of the quhilk conditionis ag-griet unto, and for the suertie to be maid for performing thairof, it is accordit for the suertie of the foirsaidis persounes, upoun wytie and gude consideratioun, tending to the establishing of peace, quietnes, and uniuersal obedience of his Hienes auctori-tie, and for dew obedience and syruice to be maid be thame in tyme cuming; be act of Parliament it shall be declairit and de-cernit; that the sentences past be dome of falsfator in parliament, as any uther sentence past befor the iustice general and his de-puttis, at particular dyetts and iustice courts, and all that hes followit or may follow thair-upoun, quhilk hes bein led and deducitt againes the said George Earle of Huntlie, Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, comendator of Abirbrothok, Lord Claud Hamiltoun his brother, now comendator of Paislay, Wil-liame Bishopp of Aberdein, Alexander Bishopp of Galloway, Sr. Adame Gordoun



of Auchindown, knyght, Sr. Andro Hamiltoun of Goslingtoun, knyght, Johnne Hamiltoun of Staine hous, Alexander Hamiltoun, Ineuerwek, George Barklay of Ilk, James Hamiltoun of Ruchbank, James Hamiltoun in Wodhall, Johnne Hamiltoun of Drumry, Gawin Hamiltoun of Roploche, Robert Hamiltoun of Gayren, Johnne Hamiltoun his brother, Robert Hamiltoun younger of Daserff, Mr. Archibald his brother, Mr James Hamilton of Neylisland, Andro Hamilton of Lichprewick, Andro Hamilton Netherfeeld, Johnne Hamilton of Cothcatt, Arthure Hamiltoun of Mureton, James Hamiltoun of Munktownmains, James Hamiltoun of Kincavill, Mungo Hamilton of Pardivin, James Hamilton in Burnebrae, Archibald and Andro Hamiltouns, sones to umquhill Andro Hamiltoun of Cothquhat, Thomas Hamiltoun of Preistfield, James Hamiltoun of Prestoun, James Morheid of Lanchope, Alexander Bailly of Littellgill, Williame Bailly of Lormestoun, James Glen of the Bar, Williame Glen his sone, or ony of the said

persounes, befoir the iustice or his deputts, or be the Regent or Lordis of secret counsall, for ony crymes done in the common caus, contrare the King or his authoritie, sen the 15 day of Junij 1567, or for ony uther cryme or causs contenit in the sumonds of treasoun, sentences, and domes foirsaidis, led againes thame sen the said 15 day, shall haue na executioun, bot shall be of na auail, force, strenthe, nor effect in all tyme cuming, without any uther declaratioun to follow; and this present article to extend to all uthir persounes foirfaltit, properly comprehendit under this pacificatioun, that thai shall haue alswa the King's licence and fauor to reduce thair foirfaultors, upoun sick causes and considerations as they may libell.

Item, be act of parliament it shall be declairit, that all persounes, quha, be foirfaultor actis, or decretts of priuie counsall or Sessioun, for crymes comittit in the said comon caus or barratrie, sen the xv of Junij 1567, hes bein dispossess of thair lands or heretages, pensiounes of bene-

feeces, heritabill offices, honors, takes, steidingis, possèssioun of land or teines quhatsumeuer, shal be restoired effectually to thair possèssiounes thairof, to thair lands and honors, that they may injoy the same als freely as they did at any time heirtofore, and as giff the troubles by past had neuer hapnit; notwithstanding of onie sentence or dome of foirfaultor past ather in parliament, or before the iustice or his deputts, at any particular tymes, or for onie penalties that might haue followit thairupoun, proceeding upoun the said common caus. And to the end ilk man may be repossess to his hous, the King's lettres shall be direct in his fauors againes the detainer, to repossess the just awner within six dayes, under the paine of treasoun; and that ilk persoun crauing the benefeete of this pacificatioun, shall first find caution, and subscryve his obedience to the King and his authoritie royall; and then lettres of the four formes shall be summarilie direct

in his fauor, to invest him in all his rentis againe.

Item, as touching that article, requyring that ane act shall pas in the parliament, declairing the saids persounes to be freely remittit and dischairgit for all attempts, crymes, treasounes, transgressiones, or offences, for quhatsumeuer caus, sen the 15th day of Junij 1567, againes all personis being in the contrarie syde, and professing another auctoritie for the tyme (incest, witchcraft, and thift exceptit); the same article is agriet unto, saving that the same shall not extend to the murtheris of umquhille the Earle of Murray and the Earle of Lennox, quhilk are materis of sick weyght and importance, as the Regent cannot conveniently of himselff remitt thame. Bot in respect of the necessity of this presente pacificatioun; it is aggriet, that iff the materis of remissiounes be moued be the comitters thairof to the Queene of England, that quhatsoever shoe shall counsall in that matter, the Regent promieses to performe the



same in Scotland be ane act of parliament ; the quhilk, subscrivit be the clerk registre, shall be als gude and sufficient to the said persounes, and ilk ane of them, as giff remissiounes were past to thame under the great seall in speciall, or they shall haue the same remissiounes in dew forme under the great seall, as best shall please thame. And giff anie of thame desires remissoun for any cryme preceeding the said 15 day of Junij 1567, the same shall be grauntit to thame, the persounes and crymes being notified ; the murther of the King our Souerane Lord's father, and all uther murtheris, fyre raising, theft, resept of theft, incest, and withchcraft, only excepted.

Item, all ciuill decrees past during the troubles sen the said 15 of Junij 1567, quhairwith the said persounes or onie of thame finds themselues greev't or injurit, shal be releuit be the judges ordinars giuers of the decreetis ; and the pairties, upon thair supplicatiounes, shal be heird to propon onie laufull defence that they might

haue usit the tyme of deduction of the proces, provyding they intend thair preceptis and supplicatiounes for that caus within six moneths eftir the daitt heiroff.

Item, as for the fruitts or moueable gudes, ather perteing to the King or his subiects, taine fra persounes professing his obedience sen the 15 day of Junij 1567, preceeding the penult day of July last bypast, againes the pairtie with quhome they then stude in contrauersie and debaitt; because the mater is of sick weyght and importance, it is accordit, that the same being mouit to the Queene of England, howsoeuer shoe shall devyse and counsall thairanent, the Regent shall performe, fulfill, and obserue the same with consent of parliament. The rentis, few fermes, and mealls of the lands of Pendreith, and the thrid of the benefice of Duffus in Murray, being a pairt of our Souerane Lords propertie, intromettit with and uptakin be my Lord Huntlie, or onie in his name, in tyme bygaine, is be this pacificatioun friely remit-

tit and dischargit: And as, touching the rentis of the thridds of benefeces, comon kirks and freerlands, lykewayes intromittit with be the said Earle of Huntlie and Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, or onie in thair names in tyme bygaine, the Regent shall mak sute to the kirk, at the generall assemblie thair of, to procure a remitt of the rentis sick as may be hade, declaratioun being first maid to the said Earle and Lord Johnn, quhat is intromittit with and uptakin in thair names.

Item, that all men comprehendit under this pacificatioun, after the publicatioun thair of, be indifferently receauit and embracit as the remanent of our Souerane Lord's leiges, ouer all partis of this realme. And that nathing done, or that hes occurrit during the troubles in the said comon caus, or onie thing depending thairupoun, be comptit as deadlie fead in judgement, or be any acceptatioun againes judge, pairtie, witnes, or utherwayes.

Item, that the aires and successors of persounes foirfaltit, properlye comprehendit under this pacificatioun, and now depairted this lyfe, shall be restoired and maid lawfull to enter be breuies to thair lands and possessions, notwithstanding of the foirfaultor led againes thair fatheris or predecessors, and as giff they hade dyed at our Souerane Lords faith and peace; and specially of Johnne Archbishop of St. Androis, Gawin Comendator of Kilwyning, Andrew Hamiltoun of Lochnorth, Johnne Hamiltoun his sone, and capitaine James Cullane.

Item, that the capitanes of men of warre underwrittin, with the members of thair cumpanies; shal be comprehendit in this presente pacificatioun, as alswa all the souldiours quha seruit under thair chairges during the troubles, and before the last day of July last bypast; they are to say, capitane James Bruce, Johnne Hamiltoune of Albowye his Lieutennent, Jon Robiesoun in Braidwoodsyde his handsenzie, Capitane



Thomas Ker, James Arbuthnot his Lieutenant, Corporall Janet his handsenzie, Robert Crawford, and James Olyphant.

Quhilk haill articles and conditiones of this presente pacificatioun, accordit unto in maner aboue specifiet, the King's comissionaris, and alsua the uther nobillmen aboue wrëttin, solemnlye promise and sweares the trew intentioun, faithful performance and observatioun of the same in tyme cuming, in presence of the Queene of England's ambassador. In faith and witnessing quhairof, they have subscrivit this ratificatioun with thair handis, and his Hienes comissionars hes delyruit to the said Earle of Huntlie and Lord Johne Hamiltoun, comendator foirsaid, thair remissiones, under the King's great seall; and the said Johnne Lord Hamiltoun promeises, of his honor, that Lord Claud Hamiltoun his brother shall also approue and subscribe the articles and conditiones heirof in all pointes.

## Subscrevit thus :

ARGYLL.

RUTHVEN.

HUNTLIE.

R. BOYD.

MONTROSE.

R. DUNFERMLINE.

ARBROTH.

BELLENDEN.

In the meane tyme, Sr. Adame Gordoun, Lieutennent in the north, heiring that my Lord Lovat, the Master of Forbes, and Malcolme Toshe, were in Aberdein, he assailziet thame in the nyght. The skirmishe was great on baith sydes, dieuers slaine, and sundrie hurt, and many preasoneris taken. Among the rest, the Lieutennent himselff was hurt ; and the Regent, according to his promise, repaired to Aberdour, quhair my Lord Huntlie met him, and thair he assentit to all the articles foresaid, and withall desyrit earnestly of my Lord Huntlie that he should repaire hame to stay his brother from farder hostillitye ; he directit also diuers of his letters to the nobilitye of Scotland, to convein in Edinburgh the xv day of March following. And becaus the

ambassador of England, quha was present at the ressoning and conclusion of this foirsaid pacificatioun, hade perceauit sick appearance of the Lordis of the Queenes factioun to peace, he thought that the capitane of Edinburgh castell, with the Lord Home and Secretarie Lethingtoun, wald willingly condescend: bot the contraire oppinioun was in thair heads; for quhen he came thither, and shew thame be wreitt all the articles that were condescendit unto, and desyrit thame to subscriue the same for thair pairtis, they refusit simply, unless they hade laser to obtien the fauor of the King of Fraunce and of the Queene of Scotland to that purpois. The ambassador, eftir the ressett of this answare, returnit to the Regent, quhair they consultit togidder for a suddaine remeid; and that was, he obtenit the gude will of the Queene of England to send ane armie with all thair prouisioun for asseging of the castell; and this was done with sick speid and order, that first the carpenters

were sent to Leith upoun the first day of April to forme some gabionis. When the capitane got knowledge of this, he sent to the Regent, desyring abstinence untill the nynt of that moneth; and in the meane tyme, the Earle of Rothes and Robert Lord Boyd trauellit and reasonit lang with, to yeild for thair awin weilfare, becaus they assurit thame that the armie of England was deliberat to assaillie thame quhen it should be no tyme of repentence; bot they on the uther pairt were so diffident of anie sick accident to fall out againes us, they wald not giue eare to anie danger that myght enshew thairby, and gaue thame absolute answer, that unless they could obtain the graunt of thair articles givin in the 27 of August last, they wald not condescend to the pacificatioun.

To the appointit conventioun came the Earle of Atholl upoun the 6 January, quha during all these troubles shew thame sa indifferent, that na man could tell quhais factioun he sustenit. Within twa dayes eftir



come an hundrethe pyoneeris out of England, for braking of ground, to prepare the same for placing of cannonis, and to that effect, that thair remaining should not be upoun the Queene of England's expence, they were placit, as the Regents souldiours were afore, in the houses of certaine inhabitants of Edinburgh quha fauorit the Queene, express againes the nature of abstinence and pacificatioun as afore. Sum canons were also broght be water from the castell of Stirline for battery of Edinburgh castell. Upoun the xi day the pyoneris, be advyse of thair comanderis, begouth to cast thair trenches, at sick appecrant pairts about the castell quhair they thocht to anoy the hous; and the Earle of Athole, perceiving the people of the castell sa obstinat from all reasoun and peace, he depairted from Edinburgh, and wald na langer attend upoun the conventioun; bot as the pyoneris hade trinchett in the castell hill of Edinburgh, and erectit a braid'sconce to hyde thame, the souldiours of the castell come

furth to sett the sconce on fyre, and slew diuers of the pyoneris.

Efter this enterit the Marishall of Barwick in Scotland, with the rest of his armie be land ; and the prouisioun of guns, bullattis, and poulder be sea. In his armie be land, he hade five hundrethe hagbutters, and sevin score pykemen. The Regent directit the young Douglas of Kilspendye, Johnne Cunyngham, sone to the Earle of Glencairne, the Master of Ruthven, and Johnn Sempill, to enter in England as pledges for the armye and guns, unto the tyme of thair returne. The armie of England entrit to thair trenches the 25 of Aprill. The haill number of thair guns were these : 4 canon royall, 4 single canons, 9 gross culverings win at the battlle of Flowden, with fiue uther smaller peeces, quhilk they convoyit all in the nyght, in the moneth of Maij, to thair trenches, during all the quhilk tyme the castell of Edinburgh did nayther persew thame with men or shott. Thaireftir ane baner,

denouncing warre and defiance, was set up-  
on the cheef tour top.

And the Regent, according to thir ac-  
tis of pacificatioun, held ane parliament  
in Edinburgh. Duke Hamiltoun, with the  
rest of his sonnes, and thair familie and  
dependendis, whose names are wretten be-  
foire, were restoired to thair rowmes, ren-  
tis, honors, possessions, benefeces, and pen-  
sionis. Bot how lang this endurit, I am  
wearie to reherse; for the Regent brak to  
thame without caus that might be knawin  
thaireftir at any time, as ye shal heir in the  
awin place; and on the uther pairt, all in-  
habitants of the castell were foirfaultit in  
respect of thair obstinacy: and forder, the  
Inglis armie began thair battery upoun  
Trinitie Sunday, at twa hors afternoone,  
quhilk was the 37 of Maij, and shott per-  
petually at all the circuit thairof, and that  
endurit untill aucht hors at euen. In the  
meane tyme, sum hagbuttis were shute  
furth of the castell, that hurt and slew di-  
uers Englishmen; and the battery conti-

newit thus to the 22 day of the said moneth, that thrie quarteris of the great tour, callit Davies Tour, fell down, and the hail tour of the port cuilzies, with sum portiones of the foir wall, and ane great quantitie of the back wall that lyes to the south and south west; for scailling with ledderis; and on the 25 day they assailziet the castell on the eist syd, quhilk was easily win; bot on the west syde they were repulsit fra 7 hors in the morning till 10. Mr Drowrie tuik trewes, and the castell consentit. Bot the Regent was discontent. On the nixt day, the twa capitanes callit togidder, and the capitane of Edinburgh desyrit as befoire the petitionis to be grauntit, ather be the Regent, or be the Queene of England. The uther shew this to the Regent; bot he wald nather condescend thairunto himselff, nather wald he suffer any aduertisement be sent to England; and sa trews continewit all the nixt day, during the quhilk tyme they consultit within the castell quhat was best to be done. The people drew to fac-



tiounes ; some to hald, and utheris to giue ouer ; and this pairtie was the grittest and strangest ; and the capten perceauing his partie to be weakest, was resoluit to rander the hous in the Queene of England's fauor, to hir Lieutenneut, bot not to the Regent, and to rander thameselues in hir will ; so that upoun the 29 day of Maij, the captane came ouer the fallen wark, and randerit himself to the Marshall of Baruick : the rest of the nobillmen and noblewoemen were broght furth and placit in the Marshalls ludging, and thairefter transported to Leyth : and albeit the souldiours were conditionat to cum furth with bagg and baggage, they were notwithstanding spulziet, and durst not find fault. Bot all graithe perteing to the noblemen was delyuerit unto thame be the Marshall, without diminution. Within 8 dayes thaireftir, Secretarie Lethingtoun depairtit this lyfe, quhair he fell seeke, and thaireftir was transportit to his ludging, quhair he depairtit upoun the 3 of September 1575.

The aduërtisement of this randeriſg was quickly ſent to the Queene of England; bot ſhoe ſent word bak, and comandit all the prioniſis to be reſtoired to the Regent, to deall with thame as he ſhould think maiſt expedient. Then he ſeperat the Lord Home from the reſt, and patt him captiue in the caſtell of Edinburgh, the Biſhopp of Dunkeld to the Blaknes, and my Lord of Coldinghame in the caſtell of Callendare. Thaireftir the Inglis armie returnit hame be land, ſa monie as were left alyue; the canonis paſt be ſea; and the pledges returnit from Berwick to thair friendis.

Thaireftir, the Regent placitt a brother of his, callit George Dowglas of Parkheid, to be capitane of the caſtell of Edinburgh, and cauſit masonis to begin to redd the bruiſit wallis, and to repaire the foirwark to the forme of ane bulwark, platt and braid aboue, for the reſett and ryuing of many canonis. The reſt of the prioniſis quha were takin in the caſtell, viz: the Ca-

pitane, Sr. James Kirkaldie his brother, James Mosman, and James Cockie, goldsmyth of Edinburgh, were hangit upoun the 3 day of August, and thair heads putt upoun the wallis of the castell; so that be contractit peace and punishment, the ciuill warres tuik ane end for that tyme appeirandly. And becaus the souldiours of baith pairties hade na farder actioun at hame, the capitanes receauit thair bands hail, and sowme of thame past in Swaine, some in Flaunderis, quhair they behauit thameselues valiauntly.

And becaus the border men of Scotland, during this ciuill dissentioun, hade bein insolent, and maid frequent incursiounes in England, with great spuilzie, the Queene of England directit Sr. Johnne Forrester, warden of the middle marches, desyring him to mak sum incursiounes againes the borderers on the syde of Scotland, and she should hald hand upoun hir syde that they should not escape butt capituiuite or punishment, quhilk was baith grauntit and

performit with great diligence ; sa that the borderis, knawing of na refuge, were compellit to send ostages to the Regent for satisfioun of thair bygaine offences, and promeis of keeping of good order in tyme cuming, for the mutual peace of baith the contreyis.

Quhen the Regent was returnit from the borderis, and hade appeirandly pacified all materis thair as they were among the nobles, and all debaittes seasit and maid an end, he bent his mind upoun twa purposis ; for the first, the ane was to administrat iustice to all men, and to punish the trespasseris rather be his guds then be death. The uther was, to keep up a gude treasury of gold, howsoeuer it might be obtenit. Under the cullor of the first, he prosperit in effect verrie weill ; and he had greatter luck to the uther, then any thrie kings had befoire him. For, first, he collectit all the Kings rentis to his awin profite ; for he so controllit the young King's familye, that they were content of sick a



small pensioun as he pleasit to appoint. Secondly, quhen any benefeces of kirk vaikit, he keepit the proffite of thair rentis sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urget be the kirk to mak donatioun thair of, and that was not but proffite for all that. And becaus the wairdes of mariages were also accidental maters to the crowne, and fell frequently in these dayes, as comonly they do, there was nane of thame bot he obtenit als great profite of thame as they were of aueill; and as to the gudes of these quha were onie wayes disobedient to the lawes, and that the same fell in the King's hand, they escapit not bot payment in the highest degree. And to this effect he hade his interpretors, quha componit with all pairties according to his awin directioun, and he so appointed with thame for the payment, that ather it should be maid in fine gold or fine siluer.

I rehearisit afore the envye of the nybours of Edinburgh, and that nayther was the abstinence nor this last pacificatioun

obseryuit unto thame ; sa also at this tyme of appeirand general peace, the nybors of Edinburgh, quha hade seruit in Leith, declarit to the Regent a great catalogoue of thame, quha seruit in Edinburgh, and requested him to punish thame in thair gudes be the law, to the end that ane half of the compositioun should redound to the comodity of these nybors, quha hade thair ludgings demolished in tyme of troubles ; quhilk he willingly did, bot he convertit all the money to his awin use.

The ministeris also, for thair pairt, causit these same persounes mak satisfacioun to thame in presens of the haill peopill, bairheadit, set at the kirk durr, and on ane iminent place of the kirk, cledd with ane euill fauorit sackclothe as penetenceris, although that nather hade they declynit from the relligioun in onie point, or assotiat thair causs with the papists, but only for hatred that all bure againes the Queene, and thair fault being only temporall againes the King, and was frielie remittit be the

pacificatioun, and thair compositiouns foirsaid maid to the Regent. Another shift was, the punishment of people quha contravenit the law be eating of fleshe in lentroun ; as alsua, he maid lawes that na merchand should bring wyne from France without his licence ; bot how deere the licence were to the merchands, I repoint me to thair purses ; as alsua, the licences grauntit for transporting of cornes were disponsit as the rest : and becaus he understode that Colene Earle of Argyll, and my Lady Murray his wyfe, hade ane jewell of the Queene, he compellit him be law to rander the same to him.

The Earle of Argyll, chauncellar, depairtit this lyffe in the monthe of September : and in the nixt moneth my Lord Glamis was electit in his place ; bot upoun the 17 day of Marche 1577, he was shott in Stirline throw the head ; bot be whome it is uncertaine.

As the Regent hade many shiftis to

multiple his treasor, sa was thair ane unrehearsit as yit, and that was the halding of iustice courts, called vulgarlie justice aires. He began in Jedburgh, nixt in Haddingtoun, and sa consequentlie throw the haill countrey. Bot it chauncit, that at his being in Jedburgh, thair was some men that aduertesit him of black Johnne Ormestoun; and the Regent directit out the Laird of Carmichaell to tak him, quhilk he did, and was cariet to Edinburgh, quhair he sufferit for knowlege of the King's murder, upoun the 14th day of December, and confest, that James Earle Bothwell shew him a lettre subscrivit be the Earle of Argyll, the Earle of Huntlie, the Secretarie, and Sr. James Balfure, for thair assistance to that purpois.

How the Queene was handlit in England, that they meanit neuer to lett hir at libertie, sa also they delt with hir orator Johnne Bishopp of Rosse, quhome they keepit lang in prisoun within the toure of Lunden. They demittit him at last



in the moneth of December, and he immediatlie repaired toward France.

In the moneth of Julij the nixt yeir, 1574, George Earle of Huntlie, as he was cum to Edinburgh for his affaires in law, the Regent causit him to pas and remaine in the province of Galloway, in free ward, during his will, and, in that mean tyme, exposit Jairden of Apilgirth for his slauchter. Bot howsoeuer, the knyght of Lochinvarr gat intelligence thair of: he causit his friends in great number mak gude attendance on the Earle to saiff him from danger. Then the Regent grauntit him a relaxatioun in the moneth of November.

In the moneth of Januar, according to the Romane calcull 1575, Duik Hamiltoun depairtit this lyff, in his pallace of Hamiltoun, upoun the 22 day of that moneth. He was sum tyme gouvernor of Scotland, during the minoritie of Queene Marie, in great honor; a prince sa deboner as any uther in all respectis, well beloued of all the people of Scotland, and namely of

the pure. He hade great respect to his friends and kinsfolk, quhairby he purchest thair fauor in the hiechest forme.

As the Regent was partiall in some formes of iustice, quhilk ye may collect be narratiues afoire tauld, sa was he generall in utheris. As, for example, albeit he delt partially againes the peace with the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and punisht thair purses, besyd gude equitie, sa was he now indifferent under coller of law; for sum of the chosen merchandis of wealthe, that were in Edinburgh, he compellit thame to be enterit in prisoun upoun thair own exorbitant expenss, for allegit transporting of gold and siluer furth of the countrey contrarie the actis of parliament, to the end also he might be annointed with some superplus of thair gold. And to the effect the haill gude gold and fyne money of Scotland should be broght into his hands, he receivit na kind of payment of the King's rent of benefices that vaikit in his hands, and of all the princes casualities that fell unto him, bot of the best and fynest gold

and siluer; and as to the laik money printed at his awin comand before he was Regent, albeit the King's armes were on the ane syde, yit a monument of his awin airmes was on the uther syde extant in the mids of the croce; and as to the uther, he causit tham be stampit with the mark of ane heart and ane starne: And maire nor all that, becaus the repairing of the castell of Edinburgh was sumquhat expensive, he causit all the waikmen to be payit with that base money; and as a monument of his was thairon, sa causit he the master masoun sett on the monument of his armes upoun a new biggit port of the castell, aboue the lyonn of Scotland, yit extant to this day, behauld quha list, the starne and the heart. And becaus the haill quantitye of this base money was only in the hands of the pure, and na uther bodye interest be douncrying of thair prices bot they only, they outcryit sa odiously againes the Regent and his counsellors, with execrations and maledictions, as is odious to reherse.

During the ciuill warres, it fortunit a gentleman, callit Johnnestoun of Westraw, to be slaine be the Hamiltouns; and be ressoun he was a depender unto the Earle of Angus, Lord Johnne and Lord Claud maid satisfioun for the same at Halyruid pallice to the Erle of Angus, be delyuerie of a sword be the point, according to auncient custom. Thair is ane comon custome on the borderis, that the wardains of England and Scotland doe convein monethlie for peace and good ordor to be keepit, for the eist border of Scotland was appointit to Sr. John Carmichaell to meet with Sr. John Forrester, warden of England. The wardane of Scotland hade maid delyuerance of his malefactors that day to the wardaine of England; but quhen as restitution was in lyk maner crauit, and luikit for on his pairt, he refusit, and gaue answer, that thair was aneuche done for that day. The warden of Scotland maid instance for all that to be requyttit; bot the warden of England still driftit, till in end



sum of the Scottis company hapnit to speak sum lasciuious word, that so comovit the warden of England, that he burst out in these words, saying, That Sr. Johnne Carmichaell could be no companion nor equall unto him. It was ansrit sumquhat rudely be the warden againe; quhairupoun it followit, a number of English bowmen delashet some arrowes againes the Scottish company, hurt and slew diuers of thame; and the Scottis, perceauand thair companye inferior to England, they gaue bakes for the first face, and, befor they hade fled bot a littell, a number of the inhabitants of Jedburgh mett thame in the face, with quhome the warden turned bak, and maid sick a couragious onsett upon the Inglishmen, that he disperst thame, chaisit thame within thair awin borderis, and slew Sr. George Herone, keepar of Riddisdail, and uthir 24 persounes; the warden himselff was takin prisoner, Sr. Cuthbert Colenwoode, and diuers utheris. They were broght to Jedburgh that nyght, and on the

The Raid  
of the Reid  
Swyre.

morne to Dalkeithe, and presently to the Regent, quha receauit and embracit thir twa knyghts with great courtesie, and with sick humanitye as uses to be done unto strangeris, bot not as prisouneris, as thameselues diuers tymes haue confest during thair remaining, quhilk was bot only upoun thair awin silence, without compulsion; for na uther gaird was putt to thame bot famous gentlemen, to convoy thame quhair they list: Nather was onie promise taine of thame for not escaping, as use is to be taine of prisoneris; bot it was demaundit of thame, quhen they pleasit to depairt, they should be freely demittit; sa that within few dayes, be thair awin requisitioun, they were freely demittit, als freely as thair hairts could wishe. Off the Scottis companye was slaine the Laird Mow, with some utheris. This conflict was done at the Reidswyre, upoun the 3 day of Maij 1575. Thairefter, the Queene of England plaintit, and the Regent desyrit, that some comissionaris might be sent to talk of the

mater, that the pairtie maist offendit should be repairit according to ressoun; and shoe sent in Mr. Henrie Killingrew in Scotland for this same purpois, and the prissoners were all delyuerit unto him, quha thaireftir returnit all to England glaidly. Eftir thame was sent Sr. John Carmichaell to offer homage to the Queene, and shoe acceptit of him lovingly; eftir the trew report of matteris, as of a martiall worthy man, and demittit him back againe to his awin contrey saiflye, besyd many mens expectation of Scotland.

- As the devyce was in a pairt againes Huntlie, sa were thair als craftie a stratagame devysit againes Lord Johnne Hamiltoun; for upoun a day, as he was myndit peaceably to haue past toward Arbroth, and his capitall enemeis (to witt the Earle of Buchan, the Earle of Moirtoun that now is, George Dowglas thair brother, George Bishopp of Murray, with fyve hundredre the horsmen, accompaniet with some friends of my Lord Lindesay) having know-

ledge of his cuming throw thair boundis, they lay in his way of sett purpois to haue killit him; and the Lord bein rēpairit to ane town callit of purpoise to refreshe himselff, luiking for na danger in respect of the pacificatioun; be fortoun some of his men espyit some gentlemen cled in armor ryding in the toun, and laying about with ane euill countenance, come imediatlie and aduerteist my Lord, and he suddainlye horsit himselff for saiffie of his lyffe, and came furth of the village saiflye with his companye; bot suddainlye, being hotlie persewit and followit, ane of his companie gaue him aduice to reteere from the great troupe with some persoun till himselff, to the refuge of sum fyne hous. His ressoun was gude; becaus he houpit that the persewars wald rather follow the great troupp, beleewing my Lord should be thair rather than otherwayes, as it fell out indeed to my Lords great aduantage. Swa that eftir my Lord was thus escaipit, the hail persewaris neglectit to follow him, not



thinking that he wald comitt himself to sick a weak hazard, and followit the great troupe, quhairby my Lord obtenit sick advantage of the ground with some small space of tyme, that he was imediatly releuit in the hous of a worshipfull gentillman, callit Leirmont of Dairsye, quhair he was strangly ressett and defendit to the uttermost, friendlie and manfully, to his great releef at that tyme againes that furious, fraudulent assault. The enemies, as I haue said, followit the troupe a gude pairt of the way, and raid about thame, comprehending thame all within the boundis of thair forces of horsmen, and tuik thame all prisoneris; and finding that my Lord was not thair, they comittit these few prissoneris to custodye, and followit my Lord; bot he was housit beforehand, and the entress sa fortified, and the hous manit in sick sort, that they could giue no suddaine assault; and thairfore were compellit to re-teere with shame; and this befell upoun the 26 day of July. Within few dayes eftir,

they convenit againe of purpois to stopp his outcuming to pas any way. My Lord, on the uther pairt, send word to some of his speciall freinds and fauorors to repaire unto him for his supplie. Thair convenit my Lord of Angus with his friends, with the Regent's light horsmen at his speciall comand, the Earle of Rothés, the Earle of Erroll, and George Lord Settoun, with a great number of the gentlemen of Hamiltouns, pairtly to conduct my Lord to sick a pairt as should pleas him, or ellis to sick a revenge as should be thoght maist expedient. Bot thair meetting was stayit be the great instance and intercessioun of the Earle of Rothés, sa that the Dowglases were separat that day, and my Lord was counsallit to reteere to Hamiltoun, and in effect come to the Queene's Ferrie to haue taine shipping, as men beleeuit. Bot he returnit that same nyght with his awin family toward Arbrothe: and for all this the Regent maid na redres, bot rayther, within few years thaireftir, doublit his malice a-

gaines that family, as shall be shortlie de-  
clairit; to the quhilk place I remitt the  
reedar.

In the moneth of August certaine per-  
sons quha accompaniet the Queene at  
Langsyde, were sumoned to underly the  
law, to the effect the Regent myght enioy  
some of thair money, for a particular remis-  
sion to ilk ane of thame, he ressoun he  
could not punishe thair bodies, in respect  
of the act of pacificatioun. Thairefter,  
Robert Earle of Orknay was putt captiue  
in the castell of Edinburgh. The caus of  
his imprisonment was, becaus the Earle  
hade directit a gentleman, callit Elphing-  
stoun, with lettres to the King of Denmark,  
quhairby he maid him a frie offer of the  
restitution of the ysles of Orknay in his  
possessioun, for some sick recompence as  
they wald aggrie upoun. This was esteem-  
it as treasoun; and the Earle was in feare  
of heiche punishment for the same. Bot  
the Regent's oppinion was rather to fyne  
some weyght of gold from him nor uther-

wayes ; and befoir that yeir was endit, he causit a new peece of gold to be imprint- ed, of the weyght of ane unce, ordaint to haue course in the contrey for the availl of xx l. money ; so that this is the sowme of all speciall turnis done in that yeire, saving that the Regent, for ingadering of money, held iustice courts in Drumfries, quhair he was accompaniet with diuers nobles of Scotland, and namlie with Lord Johnne Hamiltoun, and his brother Lord Claud. Thaire were mony broken men of the borderis punisht be thair purs, rayther then be thair lives. Thair enterit many gentlemen of England for to behold the Regents court, quhair thair was great prouocatioun maid for ryding of horses ; and be fortoun my Lord Hamiltoun hade thair a hors sa weill brydlit, and so speedye, that althogh he was of a meaner stature from uther horses that assayit thair speed, he ourcame thame all a great way upoun Solloway sandis, quhairby he obtenit great prais baith of England and Scotland that tyme.



In the begining of the nixt yeir, certaine 1576.  
striff and debaitt fell out betwix twa nobillmen, to witt, the Earle of Argyll, and the Earle of Atholl, twa men that were of thair awin natur sa affable, plausable, and inclynit to peace, as nane could say the contrare. The caus of the debaitt was a wicked man of the contrey off Argyll, callit Allaster Glass, als M'Clellane, was takin in Atholl, and convict for thift, and thairfore condemned to the death; for quhais releeff it pleasit the Earle of Argyll to requyre at the Atholl's hands the restitutionoun of the man, upon hope of amendment, quhilk he willingly grauntit. Bot within short tyme thaireftir, as mony men are for the maist part unthankfull and unmyndfull of bypast benefites and perrellis, sa was this Allaster; for in place of thanks for sick a gude turne grauntit for his releeff, he recompencit the same be ane euill turne; for he enterit the contrey of Atholl, quhair he brunt houses, slew monie people, and broght away ane great

pray of horss and uthers gudes to Argyll. The Earle of Atholl sent aduertisement heirof till Argyll, and heirwithall desirit restitution of that malefactor, to be punisht for his demerittis according to iustice. This sute Argyll refuisit; and Atholl perceauing that, convenit ane armie to haue enterit in Argyll with fire and sword for revenge. The uther also convenit for defence; bot the Regent comandit thame to stay, and to mak na invasioun againes uther, under the paine of treasoun, till he should tak cognitioun of the caus, and mak assythment to be maid to the offendit pairtie. In the meane tyme, he hade conceivit in mynd certane ressounes, and causes to punish baith parties, be aduyce of some men of law in Edinburgh, to the end that be that way he might withdraw some monee from ather of thame for breaking of the comon law of the contrie. His intention was in this forme.

First, he directit to caus thame baith to enter before him, to answer to sick matteris

as should be laid to thair charge, under the paine of tresson. Nixt, giff they should enter, he intendit to haue comittit thame baith to prissoun. Thirddie, he intendit to haue accusit the Earle of Atholl for demitting of the malefactor befor namit tryit of thift, and unpunisht for the same, the neglecting quhairof importit a great punishment be the law.

Item, he intendit to haue accusit the Earle of Argyll for convocatioun of the King's leiges in airmie, express againes the act of parliament. Thir inventions were so particularlie and seuerally notified to the twa Earles, be sum friendly spyes that they hade in court, and consultatioun thairby hade be wise men, quha intercedit betuix thir twa nobles, that perfite and finall agreement followit thairupoun in all points, sa that they met face to face, and conferrit so lovingly ane with ane uther, that be thame baithe the fraud was tould, that the Regent intendit againes them. Bot how-

soone the Regent gott knowledge of this thair concord, he was sumquhat greeuit, and in the end he causit thame to be warnit, to compeir before the secret counsall, to answer *super inquirendis*, quhilk they disobeyit, quhairat he was double greeuit. In the end of this yeir the Earle of Huntlie depairted this lyff.

1577. As princes and gouernors haue the eyes of many people bent toward thame, sum for feare, sum for reuerence, dewty, and love, utheris for envye, sa it became also of this Regent : For, first, for his perpetuall pollice and cullor of justice, quhairby he punisht transgressors and uthers ; the greatest pairt of the people feared him, and maist comonly unto feare invye is a great companion : Secondly, becaus he forgett many faultis againes men of riches and great rentis, invye was the mair heapit againes him, quhilk was the caus that his deathe was conspyrit be some personis, and namely be ane Johnne Sempill of Belcrites. This gentleman hade obtenit ane portioun



of fyne ground of Queene Marie for his gude seruice, and for the gude seruice of his ladie, Marie Livingstoun, perteining to the croune, and that was given to thame and thair aires, heretably, for payment of ane small dewtie of few farme: and be resoun the Regent, as I tauld yow before, receauit the compt of the King's rent, and fand this gudlie portioun of land comodious for himselff, he inventit a question, That the King's land could not be disponit from the croune, and thairfore that land should returne to the prince againe. This question was movet befor the Senators of the College of Justice, and was almaist broght to this pas, that notwithstanding of the perfite gift he hade obtenit thairof, under the priue seall and great seall, he was likely to losse it; for the Regent himselff sat in judgement for this caus, as he did for mony utheris; and the said Johnne perceaving this inconvenient, was deliberat to revenge his caus, be killing of the Regent, quhairoff he gat perfite intelligence; and

quhen the gentillman was broght to tryal of this, he confessit the same, and thaireftir was tryit be his peires, and condemned to death. Bot the regent, for quhat respect it is uncertane, relaxit him at that tyme. Thaire was als a uther gentillman in suspicioun for the lyk fact, Johnne Quhytfuird of Miltoun; bot albeit he was putt till extreme tortor, he confessit nathing, and thaireftir was demittit: And the Regent, finding his estate to be in doubt, and manie nobillis of the land to mislyk and contemne him, he was deliberat to resigne his office in the King's handis. Quhidder he did this upoun ane plaine intentioun to denude himselff, or upoun plaine hypocrisie, his consequent warkis shall testifie heireftir. Alwayes he repairit to Stirline upoun the xii day of September, and that day eftirnoone the King being come to the counsall-hous, it pleasit the Regent to speak on this maner.

It will please your Majestie and the nobillity heir presente, it is not unknowin to

yow all quhat trauell, skayth, and damage, my predecessors in this office haue sustenit; how they bein violently murtherit, and that I haue sustenit, and am appeirandly to sustein the lyk: besyd all this, the dew obedience is refuisit, becaus appeirandly your Maiestie is to embrace the gouernment upoun your awin persoun. Secondlie, thair is appeirance of great oppression and rebellioun to fall in this realme. Last of all, the age and weaknes of my bodye is not able to suffer me to suppress the proud rebellioun of your subiectis; and thairfore, since I perceauie increas of wisdom to grow daylie in your Maiestie, and that ye haue, praisit be God, the dewtiefel fauor of all your subiectis at this hour, I am most willing to demitt my chaarge in your Maiestie's awin hands presentlie, quhilk I beseek yow to accept, to releue my verrie age: As also, I beseeke your honors heir presente to hald hand to his Maiestie in this purpois.

The King ansyrit, that he was unable for

age to that place of gouernment ; and giue I were, I know not to quhat place I should mak my resort. The Regent replyit and said, that his Maiestie wald be weill ludgitt in the castell of Edinburgh, baith for the gude situation of the hous, the pleasent sicht of the feilds, and the sight of the sea and frequencie of ships. The King said, that he wald willingly condescende to that change, provyding his keepars should haue the mentenance of that castell: And farder, that he should speedlye avyse upoun all these purposses, and should giue him ane competent answer ; so that on the morne, the Regent returnit to Edinburgh, and that same nyght of the counsall, the materis, as they went, they were cleielye notified to the Earles of Argyll and Atholl, quhilk movit thame baith, upon the xv day, to repaire with diligence to Striuling, to salute his Maiestie, and to accept the oppurtunite that they could, be the Regentis offer, that they might be thair helping to the performance of his petitioun in earnest,



quhilk I suppoun he movit not upoun hope that anye suddaine change should followit thairupoun. And as they were enterit the castell, it fell so out, that the King declairit to thame baith the motioun that the Regent hade maid unto him to demitt his office, and askit thame quhat they thocht of the mater; and they baith, without farder avisement, being sufficientlie resoluut afore, they ansyrit to the King, That in respect he hade done so gude seruice to his Maiestie in tyme bygain, it was na ressoun to refuse him of sick a lauffull petition; and thairfore willit him with diligence to wreitt to sick of the nobillitye as they thocht expedient to repaire to his Maiestie, in haist; and therefore declare unto thame how willing he was for to accept the regiment upoun his awin persoun, becaus of the Regent's demissioun. And this was indeed sa quicklye performit, that before the Regent could get intelligence, they were all conspyrit in myndis and bodies againes him, and voittit all that the

King should accept the regiment ; and this acceptatioun was devulgat in Edinburgh to the people be Lyonn King of Armes, and his brother the herauldis, with great solemnitie, sound of trumpettis, and great shottis from the castell. The Regent, at this publicatioun, compeirit at the mercat place, and thair protestit, that giff the King acceptit upoun him the regiment, to mak a substitute of onie persoun of the contray uther nor himselff, that his demission should availl nathing ; and this was done in the moneth of Marche of the nixt yeir 1578. Then the King directit his commissioneris to the Senat to inhibite thame, to proceed in onie maner of justice, or to giue out lettres in name of the Regent, bot in his Maiestie's awin name, and that fra thynce furth they should acknowlege na uther auctoritie bot of his Maiestie. Sicklyke he causit sumond the castell of Edinburgh to rander ; bot the keepars maid obstacle, and intendit to fortifie the same ; and as they were come furth at the port of

the toun to haue receauit sum drink and utheris viuers, the magistratts stoppit thame, quhairthrow sum of the toun folkes were hurt, and sum slaine; amang utheris, a learnit gentillman, callit Mr Richard Law-soun, was shott with a deadlie hurt; bot within few dayes thaireftir, the castell was randerit to the persoun of Campsie, be the King's awin comand, and ane inventar was taine of all the princely guids and jewellis therein perteining to the King's predecessors, according to ane old inventare.

Thaireftir the Earle of Atholl was creat Chauncellar.

In the nixt moneth of Aprill, the Earle of Moirtoun began to consider with himselff that he hade not done weill of his suddaine demissioun, and thairfore entysit ane factioun of his to come to the castell of Striuling, with force and slight, to transport the King from the handis of his keepars to Lochliven, quhair he intendit to haue keepit him till his yeirs of perfec-

tioun, or else for euer. As they were in executing of this purpose, it was sum thing narrowly espyit, that a spetiall gentillman of reputation was murdrest amang thame, callit Erskene, besyd the hurt of diuers uthers, and thair treasonabill enterpryse was postponit; for remied quhairof it was thocht expedient, that the nobles of the land should be sent for, to averse upoun the stabilitie and quietnes of the comounweill, quhilk was performit. The Earle of Argyll was directit to talk with the Earle of Moirtoun, and they cum togidder to Striuling, quhair Moirtoun was lovingly ressaueit of the King for the first face. They concludit, all in ane voice, that ane parliament should be hadin at Edinburgh in the moneth of Junij, and then all men depairted hame; bot Moirtoun retournit to Stirlie castell, and thair remanit till the appointit day of the parliament. And albeit the parliament were fencit in Edinburgh the verrie appointit day, he causit writings to be direct to the nobillitie to



compeir in Stirlin, and the parliament to be haldin thair, quhilk they refuisit. Bot the Earle of Montrois, the Lord Lindesay, and Bishopp of Orknay, protested thair in presens of the King and four nobillis thair convenit, that quhatsumeuer articles should be concludit thair, should be of na availl, force nor effect, in respect of the absence of the maist pairt and best of the nobills of Scotland; quhairfore they were all thrie comandit to prisoun within that castell; bot Montrois escaipit and returned to Edinburgh with a priue commission of the Kings, that the chauncellar and the rest of the new chosen counsellors should with all speid conduce souldiers, and convocat the leiges for his releeff from Moirtoun's bondage; bot on the contrair, Moirtoun compellit the King to direct his lettres till Edinburgh, discharging all convocations, under the paine of treasoun. The chauncellar, on the uther pairt, causit ane lang proclamation to be maid, declairing some of Moirton's enormities, to insert the same

*ad longum*, &c. Thaireftir, he directit commissioners to Striuling, desyring the King to be permittit to resort to the castell of Edinburgh, according to Moirtoun's first propositioun; but this was refusit be ane answer sent to Williame Lord Ruthven; in respect whereof, the Chauncellar came suddainlie furth of Edinburgh with his forces, and repairit to the Falkirk. The Earle of Moirtoun and his factioun sortit from Stirline to Callendar; bot be intercessioun of the ambassador of England, and my Lord Lindesay, thair meeting was stayit at that tyme; and the King causit put certane articles in forme for thair better concord, the tenor quhairof follows: First, That all hostillitye shall, without delay, ceis, and all forces be dissoluit, saving some bands of horsmen alreddye reteenit upoun our chairges, quha shall only be employit for the quietnes of our borderis and utheris our effaires, and not againes the Lords presently convenit at Falkirk, or onie of thair adherencis in this laitt actioun.

And forsamikle as we understand and are throwlye perswaddit that the Lords conuenit with the Chauncellar tuik armes only for the tender affectioun they bure us, we allow and accept of the same, sen the tent day of Junij last by past, as gude seruice done.

We will, that the Earle of Argyll shall remain with our counsall, and within our castell of Stirline, with the lyk number as uther nobillmen are ludget thairin, saving the Earle of Marre, great capitane thairof, and that the Earle of Atholl shall haue the lyk acces.

We will also, that the Earle Montrois and Lord Lindesay shall be addit to our counsall, and another thrid persoun to be nominat quhen we think tyme.

We will farder adde uther aucht nobillmen to our counsall, be aduyce of the Queene of England, that be thair aduyce betuix and the first day of Maij nixt to cum, we may tak ordour for reconciliatioun of our nobillitye.

Item, that the presente keeparis and capitanes of Edinburgh and Dumbarton castellis shall enioy thair offices to that day.

Item, that the Earle of Angus shall renounce his office of Lieutennendrie.

Item, all prissoners, horsses, and armor, takin at this meeting, shall be restoired.

In the moneth of Aprill, in the next yeir, the nobills of Scotland convenit to the King at Stirlane with the Lord Chauncellor, and the Earle of Moirtoun, and thair ane dissimulat ordor was putt to maters; and during thair remaining, the Earle of Marr (quha as I tauld yow afore was supposit for Mortoun in the conspiricie foirsaid) maid the bankett to the haill number, quhair, whidder be advyce of Moirtoun, or be the auld Countes of Marr, it is uncertane, sick mighty poyssoun was given to the Chauncellour, that upoun the 4 day aftir the bankett he depairtit this lyffe, to the great displeasure of all the gude subiectis of Scotland. He was buried in the collegiall cheefe kirk of Edinburgh, the



7 day of Julij, with great solemnitye: And howsoone Mortoun had obtenit this faire victorie, he fearit least the rest of the Chauncellor's factioun should haue broght the Hamiltons in court, quhome he had so uncourteously handlit afore, and that the young King now cuming to louse libertie, should delyte in new faces and new counsall, quha should haue respect to the Queene of Scotland and hir caus. He thocht gude to prevene occasioun and tyme in this point; and thairfore he sollicite the Earle of Marr and sum uther of his friends to subborne the King, that the hous of Hamiltoun are, and hes bein, his pernicious enemies, quha had slaine twa of his Regents before tyme, and quha, as yit, had not obtenit pardoun for the same; and thairfore, it was convenient for the King's honor, that thair cheefe Lords should be broght in to iustice, to suffer for thair demerittes: Quhilk wald caus the King be renownit for all his dayes. Quhen this motioun was maid to the King, he not

knawing ayther quhat he did, or how he did, he willinglye assentit, as it becumis of all affairies of youthe for the most pairt. Sa that Moirtoun, to perform his intentioun newly conceavit, did priulie conduce some souldiours. As also, he assemblit ane great number of his friends for his convoy ; and, with canons and uther fencible weapons, he addrest him to the way. The comission was grauntit to Archibald Earle of Angus; quhome Mortoun, as a second, convoyit to the turne. Lord Johnne Hamilton heiring of sick pernicious preparatiues, laid againes thame be verrie short aduertisement, they escaipit baith suddainlye and priuilie. Lord Johnne past throw all England on fute quietlie, accompaniet with a servand only, and theirefra to Fraunce ; quhaire he come to the toun of Pareis, and was thankfullie and courteously receavit be the Reverend Father James Archbishope of Glasgow, Ambassador for Queene Marie in Fraunce. Lord Claud lurkit a whyll in Scotland; theirefter being diligently inquy-

rit upon, he past in England, quhaire he was first ressaute be a gentillman of Northumberland, and last of all be the Queene. Within few yeirs, Lord Johnne returnit in England, be comissioun and oversicht of the Queene, quhaire he remanit to the yeir of God 1585, that he returnit to Scotland, in sick maner and forme as ye shall heire in the awin place. The Earle of Angus assedgit the castell of Hamiltoun. The kee-paris renderit thameselues in the King's will; but Morton causit thame be brought bund to Striuline, quhair Arthure Hamiltoun of Muretoun, thair captaine, was hang-it. The castell of Draffin was lykewayes win. The Dutchess of Hamiltoun, and Lord James Earle of Arrane, were transportit to the pallaice of Linlithgow, and thairin putt captiues in custodie of Capitaine Lambie, a capitalemie and a tyrran againes all Hamiltouns. The rest of the gentlemen of Hamiltons were compellit to answer as law wald. They come to Edinburgh, and payit great sowmes of money for pardoun of sick

faultis as ather actually they hade done, or that could be allegitt againes thame. Their-after the uther twa cheefe baneist lords were summonit to compeire before the king and secret counsall, under the paine of rebellion; but as the invassioun was unjust and unlawfull, sa was this warning out of seasoun; and for all that, ye shall heire mair, how their saikles eldest brother was also handlit.

In the moneth of Junij, the Queen of Scotland, to congratulate the libertie of hir sone, in respect of hir awin straitt keeping, directit ane of hir secretaris in Scotland with business to his majestie, the superscriptioun quhareof was in thir words (To our loving son James, Prince of Scotland): He brought with him also certane jewells and ornaments to his bodye: Bot becaus, by the lettres, he was not intitulat King, the counsall for that tyme wald naither suffer the lettres to be openit, nor the giftis to be ressaut; and thairfore he was demittit to turn bak as he came.



I have rehearsit diuers sortis of envye that Mortoun hade sustenit before : And besyds them all, thair was a popular malice suscitat againes him ; for twa poets of Edinburgh, perceauing his sinistrous dealing, did publish the same to the people, be a famous libell written againes him ; and Mortoun heiring of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirline, quhaire they were baith hangit. The names of the men were Walter Trumble scholemaister, and William Scott. They were baith well belloued of the comoun people for their comon offices. And albeit, be this forme of banishment, that was usit againes the Hamiltouns, and incarceration of thair eldest brother, Moirtoun esteemit himselff to lieue in security from danger of any great enemies in Scotland, it pleasit some wyse forseing men to consider of the waik estate of the King, destitutt of sa mony noble friends, quhat be the death of his father, his grandfather, and the chauncellar, to call bak againe in Scotland a gentillman in France, quha was

descendit of the auld bluid of the noble hous of Lennox, callit Aymie Steward, Monsieour Daubeigney. This motion was comunit to the Queene of Scotland and to the Duike of Guise in France, and was thought gude. The gentillman was counsellit in Fraunce how to behaue himself, and to congratulate the young King's entrie to his kingdome, in sick sort as he were not to remain bot to retorne hame to his awin native contrey of Fraunce. Bot quhen he was cum in Scotland in the moneth of September, and hade aryvit at Leith, and was honorablye ressauit be the magistrats of Edinburgh, he was imediatlye convoyit to Stirling, quhere, without ony difficultye, he obtenit blythe presence and sick gude countenance of the King, that in short tyme he was so preferrit in fauor with the young King, that he obtenit large renews baith spirituall and temporall. And this matter was sa prepaired and haistit, that before the end of that monthe, the King addrest him to his capitall toune of Edinburgh, to

mak the first entrie to his kingdome thair, and the first parliament toune of his con-trey, quhere the nobles and prelattis of the colledge of iustice makes thair cheefe resi-dence, quhere he was receauit with great magnificence on this maner. At the West Port of Edinburgh he was receauit be the magistrattis of the toune, under ane pom-pous pale of purpor veluet. That port presentit to him the wisdome of Solomon, as it is written in the first chapter of the 3 buik of Kings ; that is to say, King Solo-mon was presentit with the twa woemen that contendit for the young child, and the servand that presentit the sword to the King with the child. And as he maid for-der progress within the toune, in the street that ascends to the castell, thair is ane an-cient port, at the quhilk hang a curious globe, quhilk opnit artificially as the King come by, quherein was a young boy that descendit craftilye, presenting the keyes of the toune to his Maiestie, that were all maid of massie siluer, and these were pre-

sentlie receauit be ane of his honourable counsall. During this, Dame Musick and hir schollers exercised hir airte with great melody. Then in his discence, as he come fornent the Colledge of Justice, there shew thameselues unto him four gallant virtuous ladies, to wit, Peace, Justice, Plentie, and Pollice, and ather of thame had ane oration to his Maiestie. Thairefter, as he come toward the kirk, thair Dame Relligioun show hirselff, desyring his presence, quhilk he then obeyit, entering the kirk, quhere the cheefe preacher for that tyme maid a notable exhortatioun for the embracing of relligioun and all hir cardinall virteous. Thairefter he come furth, and went to the mercat crose, quhere he beheld Bacchus with his magnifick liberalitye and plentye, distributting of sick liquor to all persons passingers, in sick abundance as was pleasant to behald. A littill beneth is a mercatt place, quherein was erectit the geneologie of the Kings of Scotland, and a number of trumpettis sounding melodiouslye, and



crying with loud voice, weelfare to the King. At the Eist Port was erectit the conjunction of the planets, as they were in thair degrees and places the tyme of his Maiestie's happie natiuity, and the same vively representit be assistance of King Ptolomie, and with all the haill streettes were spred with flowers, and the fore houses of the streettes, be the quhilk the King passit, were all hung with magnifick tapetrie, with paintit histories, and with effigies of many noblemen and woemen; and thus he past out of the toune of Edinburgh to his pallice of Halyruidhous.

This thair pleasures being endit, ane Parliament was haldin at Edinburgh, quhair the twa chiefe Lords of the Hamiltouns were forfaultit, with many uther gentillmen of that clan, and their teinds and rentis were disponit to thair enemies. As also, these quha were doers or forknowers of the slauchter of the Earle of Lennox, or of the Earle of Murray, regentis, were commandit to remoue from the King, be the space of 6

mylls, under the paine of deathe. And farther, Monsieour Daubigne was creat Earle of Lennox and Abbot of Arbrothe. The Bishopp of Caithnes was creat Earle of Marche and Lord of Dumbarr.

1580. In the begining of the nixt yeir, the King maid his progres be all the capitall burrowes of this realme, and during all that yier of the kings new entrance and acceptatioun of his kingdome, thair was na-thing bot greitt quietnes and peace, saving only of some small hostillitye that fell out betuix William Lord Ruthven, and Lawrence Lord Olyphant, with som small slauchter quhilk was soone appeasit. Bot before that yeir was perfectly endit, sum men conferrit thair opinions togidder for extermination of Mortoun, and to putt an end to all former envye conceavit againes him. The cheefe was the Earle of Gowrie and sum uthers of that rank ; for upoun the last day of December, as he then satt in counsall, he was accusit be ane Capitane James Steward, of foreknowledge of the kings

murther, quhereunto he ansyrit thus : For samikle as it is not unknowne to your Majestie, and to the honorable Lords heir convenit, quhat thankfull and gude service I haue done to the croune, sen your Majesties coronatiun, and haue perseverit thairinto till this day, and haue bein ane seveire persecuter againes all the committers of this fact quhilk this day is laid to my charge ; I wonder upoun quhat occasioun or probability this accusatioun is now movit againes me, quha am inocent of the same : bot to the effect na kind of suspicioun or euil opinioun should be conceavit on my part, I am presently reddy to giue acompt for this and all uther things that may be laid to my chaarge, ather before the Lords heir present, or ony uther iudge it shall pleas your Majestie to appoint. Capitane James sitting all this while on his knees said againe, that not only it pitied him to see sick a corruptit member as Mortoun was, to be upoun his Majesties priuie counsall, bot also that their was another of that same fac-

tioun and clan upoun the Sessioun, als culpable of this odious cryme of tressoun as he was, and that was Mr Archibald Dowglas. Thairefter the pairties were remouet and the counsall decernit Moirtoun to be putt in captiuitie, to be keepit thare while he were tryit, and directit furthe certeine courtours for that tyme, priuilie to apprehend Mr Archibald Dowglas, quha was then resident with his ladye at the castell of Morhame ; bot he was premonisht be the diligence of a gentleman callit George Dowglas of Langnidrie, sa that he was escapit before the captors could atteine to the hous, and thus soght his refuge in England. Moirtoun upon the third day thaireftir was imprissonit within the castell of Edinburgh, quhair he remainit a feu days, and then was transportit to the castell of Dumbarton, quhilk was then keepit be the now Earle of Lennox and his constable, Sir Walter Steward of Traquair knyght, quhair he was straitlye keepit till the latter end of May. The nixt yier he was trans-



portit till Edinburgh, and upon the first of January was accusit upoun diuers points, and namely, that he foreknew the king's murther, and was thair of convict and condemned to be headit, quhilk was performit upoun the second day of January in sick sort that his head was cutt of and affixt upoun the maist eminent pairt of the tolbuthe of Edinburgh. In this mean tyme, the Earle of Angus and diuers of his speciall frinds and assisters were banisht Scotland. Now haue ye hard at lenthe baith the progress of Moirton's life, and now last of his tragical end, quhilk for the maist part is fatall in Scotland to men that are in heiche degrie, becaus nayther are the nobillmen haldin under sick obedience as becomes, nayther is thair educatioun sagude as is covenient for thair birthe ; bot are for the maist part licentiat to liue a libertine life in thair youth, quhairby they become inconstant and variable in thair age ; and these be twa great impediments to solide wisdom. And howsoone the Earle

of Moirtoun was first accusit, it pleasit the counsell for that tyme to relieue Lord Robert Earle of Orknay, from captiuitie out of the castell of Edinburgh, notwithstanding of the great caus that he was in suspicion of, as is before reherst ; for indeed the said Earle would have given large compositions to Moirtoun, being Regent, to haue been freed ; and mair nor all that, he offerit his eldest son in pledge for his releese, to haue bein married to any kinswoman of Moirtoun's gratis, without ony tocher ; but nayther of thir twa was acceptit at that tyme.

The Queene of England perceauing the effairs of Scotland to be bruckle and unstable, shoe first sent in Mr Randall, hir Ambassador, desyring the Earle of Lennox expellit from Scotland ; and secondlye, the leage betuix France and Scotland to be broken ; thirdly, to restore Moirtoun, Angus, and thair friends to thair wontit libertie, as also to restore the Hamiltouns conform to act of pacificatioun, and to conclude, desyring to ratifie the ancient peace

and appointment, concludit of before betuix Scotland and England. Thir articles being discust amang the counsall, it was fund that nane of thame was worthe of ane answir or acceptatioun, saving only the last, quhilk was grauntit unto, and the rest refusit *simpliciter*. Secondlye, shoe hade prepared a number of men convenit at Berwick and Northumberland, under the conduct of the Earle of Huntingtoun and the Lord Hunsdaill, to haue enterit Scotland with strang hand for the relieff of Moirtoun, and pacifying of the estate of the countrie to thair awn hairts desire. Bot the king, with advyce of his counsall and a great confluence of the nobilitye convenit in Edinburgh, conducit a number of souldiors of hors and futemen, of sick number brauity and bent myndis to resist that immanent force of England, that be the report of the ambassador in his returne, the armie scaillit and cam na farder ben for that tyme. And thairfore to the end the king should seeme to do na thing un-

aduysedly in that purpois, he directit Sir Johnne Setoun his ambassador toward England to demand of the Queen whidder she was myndfull to keepe the peace or to break it ; bot quhen he com to Berwick, he was retainit thair for ane seasoun, till the Queen sould send word, bot he was admittit na farder ; for quhat respect it was done, ye may easilye judge.

Thaireftir Capitane James Steward was constitut tutor of Arrane.

In the moneth of Marche, Monseour de Croc was directit ambassador in Scotland from the King of Fraunce, to desire the King to work something for his mother Queen Marie's libertie, bot it was thocht prejudicial to his royall estate, and thairfore na maire was performit of that purpois at na tyme thaireftir, becaus it hes not bein the custome of England to let louse onie grip that they haue hade of Scotland at ony tyme, without weyghtie causes tending alwayes to thair awin profite, as may be collectit be the detentioun of King



James the First of Scotland, for the space of 18 yiers.

During the banishment of Angus, eftir the beheading of Moirtoun, he maid diuers incursions in Scotland, for he enterit with fyre and sword at the castell of Langholme, and took the capitane prisoner ; he led him captiue in England, he brunt diuers villages, pertaining to the Lord Maxwell, and caryet away great prayes of gudes. Thairefter a Parliament was haldin in the moneth October, quhair the Earle of Angus was foir-fault, Lord Robert Stewart was creat Earle of Orknay, Capitane James Steward creat Earle of Arrane, William Lord Ruthven creat Earle of Gowrie, and John Lord Maxwell creat Earle of Moirtoun. Bot befoir this Parliament, in the moneth of August the Earle of Lennox was creat Duik of Lennox, and publikly proclaimit be herauldis, comandin all the king's (subjects) sa to esteeme of him in all tyme cuming.

Capitane James being thus first creat tutor of Arrane, was not content with this

simple comodity, unless he were promouit to heicher honors ; and therefore he maid himselff first familiar with the wyff of the Earle of Marche, quha was great uncle to the King ; whereby he obtenit sick fauor, that shoe was quickly gotten with child : And, therefore, to cullor this adulterous fact, a proces of diuorce was intentit be hir againes her husband for impotencie of his persoune, quhilk was sa clearly provin, that separatioun followit betwixt these twa persouns, and the new Earle of Arrane and schoe were conjoynit in mariage togedder. Then he aspyrit to the honors of the Earle of Arrane ; quhilk, againes all law and iustice, was grauntit unto him, although the lawfull Earle was neuer declairit culpable of any notorious fact committit againes the persoun of the Prince, or the comoun weill. In the meane time, peace and concord was maid in England, in respect of the comon miserie of exile betwixt the nobillmen of Hamiltouns and Douglass. At the end of this parliament, sum debaitt fell out betwixt

the Earle of Arrane and the Duke Lennox. This Earle was of a proud and arrogant mynd, and thought himself inferior to na man; for at the entrie of the pallice, as Sir Johnne Setoun, quha was then ane of the King's maister stablers, was passing a littell before, the Earle strak his hors in the face; bot that matter was soon pacifiet, and the Duik was creat capitane of the King's gaird. On the next day of the parliament, the Earle hade placet some folkes besyd the knowledge of the Duke, quhilk was the caus of sick a new greeff, as the Earle was determined to haue slaine him giff he could haue obtenit his intent; for it was then constantly esteemit, that the Duke trauellit to corrupt the young King's mynd from the established religioun; and therefore it was thought that the Earle was spurrit a littill to this purpois be some of the ecclesiasticall sort, be reassoun he was esteemit to be sound in relligioun, as the sone of a sincere professor of the ghospel, to wit, my Lord Uchiltree. Quherefore the Duke came not

to the parliament that day, and this comovit the King in sick sort, that he maid the Duke remove to Dalkeith, and the Earle was commandit to absent himselff: Bot quhen he sawe sick apparand disgrace, he trauellit be some mediat persouns to mak satisfioun, and this was acceptit. So that peace and concord was then maid betwixt thir twa nobills that was neuer broken heirefter; quhereat the ministrie conceavit sick hatred againes them baith that could neuer thairefter be quenchet; and to ratifie the friendship on the Earle's accompte, he desyrit the Duke to be his gosop, and thus they continewit in Christian fauor.

At the begyning of the nixt year, becaus the pollitick effaires were all at rest, it pleasit the members of Court to give eare to certane informations maid againes a new erectit societe of ministers, callit the Presbiterie; sa that the moderators were sumonit to compeir before the King and counsal, to produce thair buik of minuts and actis,



to be seen and considerit ; quhilk was the caus of a grit demissioun and uproare, as fell out heireftir, that sa divydit the spirituall estate and temporall estate, as ather of thame haittit uther deidly, as ye shall heir in the awin place.

In respect of consanguinitye betwix the King and the Duke of Guyse, and that he delyttit in ryding and hunting, thair was some fyne horses sent from France to his maiestie, as princes uses for the maist part to congratulat ane another, togidder with gun poulder and bullettis for his housis of strength, quhilk the King thankfullie receauit. Bot the ministers of Edinburgh were heauilye offendit thairwith ; and not only they for this caus, but many uthers also ; and in particular againes the election and nominatioun of Mr Robert Montgumrie to be Archbishop of Glasgow ; sa that some of the ministrie were banisht, and a certaine minister, at his sermone in Glasgow, was pullit out of the pulpet, and buffittet be the Lord of Minto, for bakbytting and sclaundering.

Amang many honors, that the Duik of Lennox was decorit withall, and promotet unto be greatt reattis, thare was ane amang the rest prejudiciall to his estate, for he was promotit to be greatt Chamerlane of Scotland. Bot he consederit nott that the maire men of honor be promotit, ather be thair awn procurement or by intyement of their counsellars, they are the mair narr to ane great fall, becaus invye is the great minister of popular heads : and indeed this office of Chamerlane hes sick comissoun to try the inferior estate of the people, quhilk for the maist part is of greater number and pure, and may the les suffer anie kind of punishment in bodye and gudes ; and thairfore this was one of the special causses of envye conceavit againes him amang many uthers ; besyd all this, the ministrie, as I tauld you before, hade conceavit ane oppinion, that he was a seducer of the King from the establicht religion, and the nobillitye thoght that this great credence and promotioun with the

King and in the Court, was so prejudiciall to thair estate, that as they haue bein extraordinar correcters of Princes' enormities in Scotland, rather for thair awin particulars than for onie gude zeall they haue born to the commonweill, the nobillitye and kirk concurrit in sick sort togidder, that the ministers first began aforehand to shaw the youth of the King to thair audienze abusit to the societie of insolent and godles strangers. Secondly, that the same strangers were unworthily promottit to dignities aboue thair capacities and meritts, and thairby likely to scourge the pure, quhilk has bein ane odious thing in all comon wealthes heirtofore; bot as God, in tyme bygane, hade punisht tyranous people to thair shame and confusion, and hade disapointed all thair intentions; sa they doubtit not now of his wountit mercye, bot he wald execut the lyk in thir dangerous dayes.

Heirwithall certane unquiett people of the nobillitye, were still devysing thair machinations againes the young King and the

new Duik of Lennox, and the new Earle of Arrane, how they might shift thir three from utheriss seuerally.

FINIS.

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